

A BLOW at
Modern SADDUCISM

In some
Philosophical Considerations
ABOUT

Witchcraft.

And the
Relation of the *Famed Disturbance*
at the House of

M. MOMPESSON.

WITH
REFLECTIONS
ON

Drollery, and Atheisme.

The Fourth Edition Corrected and Enlarged.

By *Jos. Glanvill* Fellow of
the Royal Society.

L O N D O N,

Printed by E. Cotes for James Collins at the
Kings Head in Westminster-Hall, 1668.

1873

and the

Witchcraft

Religion of the

Witchcraft

Witchcraft

Witchcraft

Witchcraft

Witchcraft



To the Illustrious

CHARLES

DUKE of

Richmond, and Lenox.

MY LORD,

YOUR Grace having
been pleased to com-
mand the first, and
more imperfect Edition of this
Discourse, I have presumed
that your candour will accept
the Draught that hath had
my last hand upon it. And
though I am not fond enough
to phancy any art or ornament

The Epistle

in the compofure to recommend it; yet I know, the Eflay is feafonable, and contains things which relate to our biggeft interefts; the defign being to fecure fome of the out-works of Religion, and to regain a parcel of ground which bold Infidelity hath invaded. And, my Lord, I cannot but obferve fadly, that while the Sects are venting their animofities againft each other, and scrambling for their conceipts, and the particular advantages of their way, They perceive not that Atheifm comes on by large ftrides and enters the breaches they

Dedictory.

they have made. Sober and considerate men see the formidable danger, and some of them have strenuously endeavour'd to maintain the walls, while the factions within are so busie and so divided, that they cannot attend the desperate hazard, and will not joyn in a Common Defence. Among those generous Defendants I desire to pitch, and have undertaken to make good one of the Forts, upon which the enemy hath made impetuous Assaults, & I hope with no contemptible success.

For my part, My Lord, I am very little concerned for the

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*Small pedlaries that some mens
fondness calls religion, by
which that sacred thing hath
been exposed to a great deal
of contempt and dishonour.
But yet I think it my duty to
have a zeal for those great,
and certain matters upon
which our hopes in an other
world are grounded: And
that our expectations of a
future being, are not imagi-
nary and phantastick, we
have reasonable evidence
enough from the Attributes
of God, the Phaenomena of
Providence, and the nature
of our Souls, to convince any,
but those who will stupidly
be-*

Dedicatory.

believe, that they shall dye like Beasts, that they may live like them. I confess the Philosophick Arguments that are produced for the desirable Article, though very cogent, are many of them speculative and deep, requiring so great an attention and sagacity, that they take no hold upon the whifling spirits, that are not used to Consider; nor upon the common sort, that cannot reach such heights of argument: But they are both best convinced by the proofs that come nearest the sense, which indeed strike our minds fullest, and

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leave the most lasting impressions; whereas high speculations being more thin and subtile, easily slide off even from understandings that are most capable to receive them. For this reason, among some others, I appear thus much concerned for the justification of the belief of Witches, it suggesting palpable, and current evidence of our Immortality, which I am exceedingly solicitous to have made good.

For really, My Lord, if we make our computes like Men, and do not suffer our selves to be abused by the flatteries

Dedictory.

teries of sense, and the deceitful gayeties that steal us away from God, and from our selves, there is nothing can render the thoughts of this odd life tollerable, but the expectation of an other. And wise men have said, that they would not live a moment, if they thought they were not to live again. This perhaps some may take to be the discontented Paradox of a melancholick, vext and mean condition that is pinched by the straightness of fortune, and envies the heights of others felicity, and grandeurs; But by that time
those

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those that judge so, have spent the heats of frolick youth, and have past over the severall stages of vanity; when they come to sit down, and make sober reflections upon their pleasures and pursuits, and summe up the accompt of all that is with them, and before them, I doubt not but their considering thoughts will make Solomon's Conclusion, and find, that 'tis but a misery to live, if we were to live for nothing else. So that if the content of the present life were all I were to have for the hopes of Immortality, I should even up-

Dedicatory.

on that account be very unwilling to believe that I was mortal. For certainly the pleasures that result from the thoughts of another world in those, that not only see it painted in their imaginations, but feel it begun in their souls, are as farr beyond all the titillations of sense, as a real, lasting happiness is beyond the delusive images of a Dream. And therefore they that think to secure the enjoyment of their pleasures, by the infamy of our natures in the overthrow of
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The Epistle

our future hopes, endeavour to damme up the fountain of the fullest, and cleanest delights; and seek for limped waters in the sinks, and puddles of the streets.

*You see, my Lord, how my zeal for this mighty interest transports me to a greater length in this address, then perhaps may consist with strict decorum; and I indulge my pen the rather in this licence, because possibly your Grace's name may draw some eyes
hither*

Dedictory.

hitherto that have need of such suggestions, and those that have need a great deal more. It cannot be proper to add here those large accounts which would be requisite in a design of full conviction: But for the present, if they shall please to look forward, they may likely meet some things not unfit for their serious thoughts; and I intend to take a season to present them others, more particularly suitable to what I know is as much their interest, as I doubt it is their want.

But

The Epistle, &c.

*But my Lord, I fear I
am importunate, and beseech
your Grace to pardon the
boldness of*

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most Obedient Servant

JOS. GLANVILLE.

PRE-

P R E F A C E.

THERE are a sort of narrow, and confin'd Spirits, who account all Discourses needless, that are not for their particular purposes; and judge all the world to be of the Size, and Genius of those within the Circle of their Knowledge, and Acquaintance: so that with a pert and pragmatique Insolence, they censure all the braver Designs and Notices that lie beyond their Ken, as nice and impertinent Speculations; an ignorant, and proud Injustice; as if this sort were the only persons, whose humour, and needs should be consulted. And hence it comes to pass, that the greatest and worthiest things that are written, or said, do alwayes meet with

Preface.

with the most general neglect, and scorn; since the *lesser* people for whom they were not intended, are quick to shoot their bolt, and to condemn what they do not understand, and because they do not. Whereas on the other side, those that are able to judge, and would encourage, are commonly reserv'd and modest, in their sentences; or, if they should seek to do right to things that are worthy, they are sure to be out-voiced by the rout of ignorant contemners. Upon which accounts I have often thought, that he that courts and values popular estimation, takes not the right way, if he endeavour any thing that is really excellent: but he must study the little plausibilities, and accommodate the humour of the *MANY*, who are active Ministers of Fame; being zealous, and loud in their applauses, as they are clamorous, and

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impetuous in their *oppositions*. As for *these*, 'tis one of my chief cares to make my self as much unconcern'd at *their censures*, as I am at the *cacklings* of a Flock of Geese, or at the *eager displeasure* of those little *snarling Animals*, that are *angry* when I go along the *streets*. Nor can any man be either *wise* or *happy* till he hath arrived to that *greatness of mind*, that no more considers the *tattling* of the *multitude*, then the *whistling* of the *wind*. Not that I think the *common* people are to be contemned for the *weakness* of their *understandings*; 'tis an *insolent meanness* of *spirit* that doth *that*; but when *conceited ignorance* sits down in the *Judgment seat*, and gives *peremptory verdicts* upon things beyond it's *Line*, the *wiseman* smiles, and *passeth by*; for such (if *that* may signifie any thing to keep them from troubling

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*pass by
them
and*

Preface.

themselves about the following **CONSIDERATIONS**) I desire they would take notice from me, that I writ not those things for such as *they*; and they will do well to throw up the Book upon this *Advertisement*, except they will stay to hear, That though *Philosophical Discourses* to justify the common belief about *Witches*, are nothing at all to *them*, or those of *their measure*: yet they are too *seasonable*, and *necessary* for our *Age*, in which *Atheism* is begun in *Sadducism*. And those that dare not bluntly say, *There is NO GOD*, content themselves, (for a fair *step*, and *Introduction*) to deny there are *SPIRITS*, or *WITCHES*. Which sort of *Infidels*, though they are not ordinary among the *meer vulgar*, yet are they numerous in a little higher rank of *understandings*. And those that know
any

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any thing of the world, know, That most of the looser *Gentry*, and the small pretenders to *Philosophy* and *Wit*, are generally deriders of the belief of *Witches*, and *Apparitions*. And were this a slight or meer speculative mistake, I should not trouble my self, or them about it. But I fear this error hath a *core* in it that is worse than *Heresie*: And therefore how little soever I care what men *believe*, or *teach* in matters of *opinion*, I think I have reason to be concern'd in an affair, that toucheth so near upon the greatest interests of Religion. And really I am astonisht sometimes to think into what a kind of *Age* we are fallen, in which some of the greatest impieties are accounted but *Buggs*, and terrible Names, invisible *Tittles*, *Piccadillo's*, or *Chimera's*. The sad and greatest instances, are **SACRILEDGE**,

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REBELLION, and WITCHCRAFT. For the two former, there are a sort of men (that are far from being profest enemies to Religion) who, I do not know, whether they own any such vices. We find no mention of them in their most particular *Confessions*, nor have I observed them in those Sermons that have contained the largest Catalogues of the Sins of our Age, and Nation. 'Twere dangerous to speak of them as sins, for fear who should be found guilty. But my business at present is not with these, but the other, WITCHCRAFT, which I am sure was a Sin of elder times; and how comes it about that our Age, which so much out-does them in all other kinds of wickedness, should be wholly innocent in this? That there MAY be WITCHES and Apparitions in our dayes, notwithstanding

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standing the *Objections* of the *Modern Sadduce*, I believe I have made appear in the *CONSIDERATIONS* following; in which I did not primarily intend direct *proof*, but *DEFENCE*, as the Title of the *first Edition*, which is restor'd in *these* later mention'd.

And if it should be *objected*, That I have for the most part used only *supposals*, and *conjectural* things in the *vindication* of the *common* belief, and speak with no *point blanc* assurance, in my *particular* answers, as I do in the *general* conclusion; I need only say, That the *Proposition* I defend is *matter of fact*, which the *disbelievers* impugn by alledging, That it *cannot be*; or, it is *not likely*; In return to which, if I shew, how those things *may be*, and *probably*, notwithstanding their *allegations*, though I say not down right that

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Preface.

they are in the particular way I offer, yet 'tis enough for the design of *Defence*, though not for *that* of *proof*: for when one saith a thing *cannot be*, and I tell him how possibly it *may*, though I hit not the just *manner* of it; I yet defeat the *Objection* against it, and make way for the *evidence* of the thing *de Facto*; which now I have added from the *Divine Oracles*, and two *Modern Relations* that are *clear*, and *unexceptionable*.

I have no humour nor delight in telling Stories, and do not publish *these*, for the gratification of those that have; but I record them as *Arguments* for the *confirmation* of a Truth, which hath indeed been attested by multitudes of the like evidences in all places, and times: But things *remote*, or *long past*, are either not *believed*, or *forgotten*:
whereas

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whereas *these* being *fresh*, and *near*, and attended with all the circumstances of *credibility*, it may be expected, they should have the more success upon the *obstinacy* of *Unbelievers*.

But after all *this*, I must confess, there is *one* argument against me, which is not to be dealt with, viz. a mighty confidence grounded upon nothing, that *swaggers*, and *huffs*, and *swears* there are no **Witches**. For such *Philosophers* as *these*, let them enjoy the opinion of their own *Superlative Judgments*, and enter me in the first rank of *fools* for crediting my *senses*, and those of all the World, before their *sworne* Dictates. If they will believe in *Scott*, *Hobbs*, and *Osborne*, and think *them* more *infallible*, then the *Sacred Oracles*, the *History* of all Ages, and the *full* experience of our *own*, who can help

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it? They must not be *contradicted*, and they are resolved not to be *persuaded*. For this sort of men, I never go about to convince them of any thing. If I can avoid it, I throw nothing before them least they should *turn again*, and *rend me*. Their *opinions* came into their *heads* by *chance*, when their *little reasons* had no notice of their *entrance*, and they must be let alone to go out again of themselves the same way they entred. Therefore not to make much noise to disturb these *infallible Huffers* (and they cannot hear a *little*, for their *own*) I softly step by them, leaving only this whisper behind me, that though their *worshipful ignorance*, and *sottishness* can relish nothing of a Discourse that doth not minister to *sensuality*, and *unbelief*; yet my CONSIDERATIONS have had the good fortune of a *better* reception from the *braver*, and more
generous

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generous Spirits, then my fondest hopes could have expected; and persons whose good thoughts I have reason to value, have assured me, that their *kindness* to my Book hath improved upon *second*, and more *careful* perusals; which I mention for this purpose, that *those* that need my *Remarques*, and cannot feel them in a *running reading*, may please to turn their eyes back, and *deliberately* think over what I have offered; from which course, I dare promise them more *satisfaction* then from their *haste*.

Bath, June
8. 1668.

J. G.

A
Philosophical Endeavour
In the
DEFENCE
Of the *Being* of
WITCHES
AND
APPARITIONS:

With some things concerning the Famous
G R E A T R E K ' S .

Written in a
LETTER
To the much Honoured
ROBERT HUNT, Esq;

L O N D O N ,

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *James Collins* at the
Kings Head in *Westminster-Hall*, 1668.

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SOME
CONSIDERATIONS
ABOUT
Witchcraft.

In a LETTER to
Robert Hunt, Esquire.

SECT. I.

SIR,

THE frequent and late dealings you have had in the *Examination* of *witches*, and the regards of one that hath a very particular honour for you, have brought you the trouble of some CONSIDERATIONS on the Subject. And though what I have to say, be but the un-accurate product of a little leisure ; yet I hope

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hope it may afford you some, not unreasonable, accounts of the odd *phenomena* of *Witchcraft* and *Fascination*; and contribute to the DEFENCE of the *Truth*, and certainty of matters, which you *know* by *Experiments* that could not *deceive*; in spite of the *petty exceptions* of those that are resolved to believe nothing in affairs of this nature.

AND if any thing were to be much admired in an *Age of Wonders*, not only of *Nature* (which is a *constant Prodigy*) but of *Men* and *Manners*; it would be to me matter of *Astonishment*, that *Men*, otherwise *witty* and *ingenious*, are fallen into the conceit that there's *no such thing* as a *Witch*, or *Apparition*, but that these are the *creatures* of *Melancholly* and *Superstition*, foster'd by *ignorance* and *design*; which, comparing the *confidence* of their *disbelief* with the *evidence* of the *things denied*, and the *weakness* of their *grounds*, would almost suggest, that themselves are an *argument* of what they *deny*; and that so confident an *Opinion* could not be held upon such *inducements*, but by some kind of *Witchcraft*, and *Fascination* in the *Fancy*. And perhaps that *evil Spirit*, whose *influences* they will not allow in *Actions* ascribed to such

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Essay and
Madam Sain
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1676 -
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about Witchcraft.

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such Causes, hath a greater hand, and interest in their *Proposition* than they are aware of. For that *subtil* enemy of Mankind (since *Providence* will not permit him to mischief us without our own *concurrency*) attempts *that* by *stratagem* and *artifice*, which he could never effect by *open* wayes of acting; and the success of all *wiles* depending upon their *secrecy*, and *concealment*, his *influence* is never more *dangerous* than when his *agency* is least *suspected*. In order therefore to the carrying on the *dark* and *hidden designs* he manageth against our Happiness, and our Souls, he cannot expect to advantage himself more, than by insinuating a belief, *That there is no such thing as himself*, but that *fear* and *fancy* make *Devils* now, as they did *Gods* of old. Nor can he ever draw the assent of men to so *dangerous* an assertion, while the *standing sensible* evidences of his *existence* in his practices by and upon his *instruments* are not discredited and removed.

'TIS doubtless therefore the interest of this *Agent* of *darkness* to have the world believe, that the *notion* they have of him is but a *phantôme*, and conceit; and in order thereunto, That the stories of *Witches*, *Apparitions*, and indeed every thing that
brings

brings tidings of another world, are but *melancholick Dreams*, and *pious Romances*. And when men are arriv'd thus far, to think there are no *diabolical contracts* or *apparitions*, their belief that there are such *Spirits*, rests only upon their *Faith*, and *Reverence* to the *Divine Oracles*, which we have little reason to apprehend so great in such assertors, as to command much from their assent; especially in such things in which they have *corrupt interests* against their *evidence*. So that he that thinks there is no *Witch*, believes a *Devil gratis*, or at least upon inducements, which he is like to finde himself disposed to deny when he pleaseth. And when men are arrived to this degree of *diffidence* and *infidelity*, we are beholden to them if they believe either *Angel*, or *Spirit*, *Resurrection* of the *Body*, or *Immortality* of *Souls*. These things hang together in a *Chain of connexion*, at least in these mens *Hypothesis*; and 'tis but an happy chance if he that hath lost *one link*, holds another. So that the *vitals* of Religion being so much interested in this subject, it will not be unnecessary imployment particularly to discourse it.

AND in order to the proof that there have been, and are *unlawful confederacies* with

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with *evil spirits*, by vertue of which the *hellish accomplices* perform things above their natural powers; I must premise, that this being *matter of Fact*, is only capable of the evidence of *authority*, and *sense*: And by both *these*, the being of *witches* and *diabolical contracts*, is most abundantly confirm'd. All *Histories* are full of the exploits of those *Instruments of darkness*; and the *testimony* of all *Ages*, not only of the *rude* and *barbarous*, but of the most *civiliz'd* and *polish'd* world, brings tidings of their strange performances. We have the *attestation* of thousands of eye and ear-witnesses, and those not of the easily deceivable vulgar only, but of wise and grave discerners; and that, when no interest could oblige them to agree together in a common *Lye*: I say, we have the light of all these *circumstances* to confirm us in the belief of things done by persons of despicable power and knowledge, beyond the reach of *Art*, and *ordinary Nature*. Standing publick *Records* have been kept of these well attested *Relations*, and *Epocha's* made of those unwonted events. Laws in many Nations have been enacted against those vile practices; those among the *Jews* and our *own* are *notorious*; such cases have been often determined near us, by *wise* and *reverend Judges*,

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upon

upon clear and convictive evidence: and thousands in our own Nation have suffered death for their vile compacts with apostate spirits. All these I might largely prove in their particular instances, but that 'tis not needfull, since those that deny the being of *witches*, do it not out of ignorance of these Heads of Argument, of which probably they have heard a thousand times; But from an apprehension that such a belief is absurd, and the things impossible. And upon these presumptions they condemn all demonstrations of this nature, and are hardned against conviction. And I think, those that can believe all *Histories* are *Romances*; that all the *wiser* world have agreed together to juggle mankind into a common belief of *ungrounded fables*; that the *sound senses* of multitudes together may deceive them, and *Laws* are built upon *Chymera's*; that the *gravest* and *wisest* Judges have been *Murderers* and the *sagest* persons *Fools*, or *designing Impostors*: I say, those that can believe this heap of absurdities, are either more credulous than those whose credulity they reprobend; or else have some extraordinary evidence of their perswasion, viz. That 'tis absurd, and impossible there should be a *witch* or *Apparition*. And I am confident, were those little appearances

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pearances remov'd, which men have form'd in their fancies against the belief of such things; their own *evidence* would make its way to mens *assent*, without any more arguments than what they know already to enforce it. There is nothing then necessary to be done, in order to the establishing the belief I would reconcile to mens minds; but to endeavour the removal of those *prejudices* they have received against it: the chief of which I shall particularly deal with. And I begin with that *bold Assertion*, That

SECT. II.

I.

(I.) **T**HE NOTION of a Spirit is impossible and contradictory; and consequently, so is that of Witches, the belief of which is founded on that Doctrine.

TO WHICH OBJECTION I
answer,

(1) If the notion of a Spirit to be absurd as is pretended; that of a GOD, and

a *S O U L* distinct from *matter*, and *immortal*, are likewise *absurdities*. And then, That the world was *jumbled* into this *elegant* and *orderly Fabrick* by *chance*; and that our *Souls* are only *parts* of *Matter*, that came together we know not *whence*, nor *how*, and shall again shortly be *dissolv'd* into those loose *Atoms* that *compound* them; That all our *conceptions* are but the *thrusting* of one part of *matter* against another; and the *Idea's* of our minds meer *blind*, and *casual motions*: These, and a thousand more the grossest *impossibilities*, and *absurdities* (consequents of this *Proposition*, *That the notion of a Spirit is absurd*) will be *sad certainties* and *demonstrations*. And with such *Assertors* I would cease to discourse about *witches*, and *Apparitions*, and address my self to obtain their assent to *truths* infinitely more *Sacred*.

AND yet (2) though it should be granted them, that a *substance immaterial* is as much a *contradiction* as they can fancy; yet why should they not believe that the *Air* and all the *Regions* above us, may have their *invisible intellectual Agents*, of *nature* like unto our *Souls*, be that what it will; and some of them at least as much *degenerate* as the *vilest* and most *mischievous* among *Men*.

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Mex. This Hypothesis will be enough to secure the possibility of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. And that all the upper Stories of the Universe are furnish'd with *Inhabitants*. 'Tis infinitely reasonable to conclude from the analogy of Nature; Since we see there is nothing so contemptible and vile in our world we reside in, but hath its living creatures that dwell upon it; the Earth, the Water, the inferiour Air; the Bodies of Animals, the flesh, the skin, the entrails; the leaves, the roots, the stalks of Vegetables; yea, and all kinde of Minerals in the subterraneous Regions. I say, all these have their proper *Inhabitants*; yea, I suppose this Rule may hold in all distinct kinds of bodies in the world, That they have their peculiar Animals. The certainty of which I believe the improvement of microscopical observations will discover. From whence I infer, That since this little spot is so thickly peopled in every Atome of it, 'tis weakness to think that all the vast spaces above, and hollows under ground, are desert and uninhabited. And if both the superiour and lower Continents of the Universe have their inhabitants also, 'tis exceedingly improbable, arguing from the same analogy, that they are all of the meer sensible nature, but that there are

are at least some of the *Rational*, and *Intellectual* Orders. Which supposed, there is good foundation for the belief of *Witches*, and *Apparitions*; though the *notion* of a *Spirit* should prove as *absurd*, and *unphilosophical*, as I judge the denial of it. And so this first Objection comes to nothing. I descend then to the second *Prejudice*, which may be thus formed in behalf of the *Objectors*.

SECT. III.

II.

(II.) **T**HERE ARE Actions in most of those Relations ascribed to *Witches*, which are ridiculous and impossible in the nature of things; such are (1) *their* flying out of windows, (after they have anointed themselves,) to remote places. (2) *Their* transformation into *Cats*, *Hares*, and other *Creatures*. (3) *Their* feeling all the hurts in their own bodies, which they have received in those. (4) *Their* raising *Tempests*, by muttering some nonsensical words, or performing ceremonies alike impertinent as ridiculous. And (5) *their* being suck'd in a certain private place of
their

about *Witchcraft*. 11

their bodies by a Familiar. These are presumed to be actions inconsistent with the nature of Spirits, and above the powers of those poor, and miserable Agents. And therefore the Objection supposeth them performed only by the fancy; and that the whole mystery of *Witchcraft* is but an illusion of crasse imagination.

TO this aggregate Objection I return,
(1) In the general, The more absurd and unaccountable these actions seem, the greater confirmations are they to me of the truth of those Relations, and the reality of what the Objectors would destroy. For these circumstances being exceeding unlikely, judging by the measures of common belief, 'tis the greater probability they are not *fictitious*; For the contrivers of *Fictions* use to form them as near as they can conformably to the most unsuspected realities, endeavouring to make them look as like truth as is possible in the main supposals, though withal they make them strange in the circumstance. None but a fool or madman would relate, with a purpose of having it believed, that he saw in Ireland, Men with hoofs on their heads, and eyes in their

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breasts;

breasts; or, if any should be so ridiculously vain, as to be serious in such an *incredible Romance*, it cannot be supposed that all *Travellers* that come into those parts after him should tell the same story. There is a large *field in fiction*; and if all those *Relations* were *arbitrary compositions*, doubtless the first *Romancers* would have framed them more agreeable to the common doctrine of *Spirits*; at least, after these *supposed absurdities* had been a thousand times laugh'd at, people by this time would have learn'd to correct those *obnoxious extravagancies*; and though they have not yet more *veracity* than the Ages of *Ignorance* and *Superstition*, yet one would expect they should have got more *cunning*. This suppos'd *impossibility* then of these performances, seems to me a *probable argument* that they are not wilful, and designed forgeries. And if they are *Fancies*, 'tis somewhat strange, that *Imagination*, which is the most *various thing* in all the *world*, should infinitely repeat the same *conceit*, in all times, and places.

BUT again (2) the *strange Actions* related of *Witches*, and presumed *impossible*, are not ascribed to their own powers; but to the Agency of those *wicked Confederates*

rates they imploy. And to affirm that those *evil spirits* cannot do *that* which we conceit *impossible*, is boldly to stint the powers of Creatures; whose natures and faculties we know not; and to measure the world of *spirits* by the narrow rules of our own *impotent beings*. We see among ourselves the performances of some out-go the conceits and possibilities of others; and we know many things may be done by the *Mathematickes*, and *Mechanick Artifice*, which common heads think *impossible* to be effected by the *honest wayes of Art*, and *Nature*. And doubtless, the *subtilties* and powers of those *mischievous Flenas* are as much beyond the reach and activities of the most *knowing Agents* among us, as theirs are beyond the wit and ability of the most *rustick and illiterate*. So that the utmost that any mans reason in the world can amount to in this particular, is only this, that he cannot *conceive* how such things can be performed; which only argues the *weakness*, and *imperfection* of our *knowledge and apprehensions*, not the *impossibility* of those performances: and we can no more from hence form an argument against *them*, than against the most *ordinary effects* in *Nature*. We cannot conceive
how

how the *Fœtus* is form'd in the *Womb*, nor as much as how a *Plant* springs from the *Earth* we tread on; we know not how our *Souls* move the *Body*, nor how these *distant* and *extream* *natures* are *united*; as I have abundantly shewn in my *SCEPSIS SCIENTIFICA*. And if we are ignorant of the most *obvious* things about us, and the most *considerable* within our selves, 'tis then no wonder that we know not the *constitution* and *powers* of the *Creatures*, to whom we are such strangers. Briefly then, *matters of fact* well proved ought not to be *denied*, because we cannot *conceive* how they can be performed. Nor is it a reasonable method of inference, first to *presume* the thing *impossible*, and thence to conclude that the *fact* cannot be proved. On the contrary, we should judge of the *action* by the *evidence*, and not the *evidence* by the *measures* of our *fancies* about the *action*. This is proudly to exalt our own *opinions* above the *clearest testimonies*, and most *sensible demonstrations of fact*: and so to give the *Lye* to all *Mankind*, rather than distrust the *conceits* of our *bold imaginations*. But yet further,

(3) I THINK there is nothing in the *instances* mention'd, but what may as well be accounted for by the *Rules of Reason* and

and *Philosophy*, as the ordinary affairs of *Nature*. For in resolving *natural Phenomena*, we can only assign the *probable causes*, shewing how things *may be*, not presuming how they *are*. And in the particulars under our *Examen*, we may give an account how 'tis *possible*, and not *unlikely*, that such things (though somewhat varying from the common *rode* of *Nature*) may be acted. And if our narrow and contracted munes can furnish us with apprehensions of the way and manner of such performances, though perhaps not the true ones, 'tis an argument that such things may be effected by creatures, whose powers and knowledge are so vastly exceeding ours. I shall endeavour therefore briefly to suggest some things that may render the *possibility* of these performances *conceivable*, in order to the removal of this *Objection*, that they are *contradictions* and *impossible*.

FOR the *FIRST* then, That the *consecrate Spirit* should transport the *witch* through the *Air* to the place of general *Rendezvous*, there is no difficulty in conceiving it; and if that be true which great *Philosophers* affirm, concerning the real *separability* of the *Soul* from the *Body* without death, there is yet less; for then 'tis
easie

easie to apprehend, that the *Soul*, having
 left its gross and *sluggish Body* behinde it,
 and being cloath'd only with its *immediate*
vehicle of Air, or more *subtile matter*,
 may be quickly conducted to any place it
 would be at, by those *officious Spirits* that
 attend it. And though I adventure to af-
 firm nothing concerning the *truth and cer-*
tainty of this supposition, yet I must needs
 say, it doth not seem to me *unreasonable*.
 And our experience of *Apoplexies, Epilep-*
sies, Extasies, and the strange things men
 report to have seen during those *deliquiums*,
 look favourably upon this conjecture; which
 seems to me to contradict no principle of
Reason or Philosophy; since Death consists
 not so much in the *actual separation of Soul*
and Body, as in the *indisposition and unsit-*
ness of the Body for vital union, as an excellent
 Philosopher hath made good, On which
Hypothesis, the *Witches* anointing her self
 before she takes her flight, may perhaps
 serve to keep the Body *tenantable*, and in
 fit *disposition* to receive the Spirit at its re-
 turn. These things, I say, we may conceive,
 though I affirm nothing about them; and
 there is not any thing in such *conceptions* but
 what hath been own'd by men of worth
 and name, and may seem *fair and accountable*
 enough

enough to those who judge not altogether by the measures of the *populace*, and *customary opinion*. And there's a saying of the great *Apostle* that seems to countenance this *Platonick* notion; what is the meaning else of that expression: [*whether in the body or out of the body I cannot tell*] except the *Soul* may be separated from the *body* without death: which if it be granted possible, 'tis sufficient for my purpose. And

(2.) THE Transformations of *Witches* into the *shapes* of other *Animals*, upon the same supposal is very conceivable, since then 'tis ealie enough to imagine, that the power of *imagination* may form those *passive*, and *pliable vehicles* into those *shapes*, with more ease than the *fancy* of the *Mother* can the stubborn *matter* of the *Fetus* in the womb, as we see it frequently doth in the instances that occur of *Signatures*, and *monstrous Singularities*; and perhaps sometimes the *confederate Spirit* puts *tricks* upon the *senses* of the *spectators*, and those *shapes* are only *illusions*.

BUT then (3.) when they feel the *hurts* in their *gross bodies*, that they receive in their *aiery vehicles*, they must be supposed to have been really present, at least in these latter; and 'tis no more difficult

ficult to apprehend how the hurts of *those* should be translated upon their *other bodies*, then how *diseases* should be inflicted by the *imagination*, or how the *fancy* of the *Mother* should wound the *Fetus*, as several credible relations do attest.

AND (4.) for their *raising storms and tempests*, They do it not, be sure, by their *own*, but by the *power* of the *Prince* of the *Air*, their *friend* and *allie*; and the *Ceremonies* that are enjoyn'd them, are doubtless nothing else but *entertainments* for their *imaginations*, and are likely design'd to perswade them, that *they* do these strange things *themselves*.

AND (lastly) for their being *suck'd* by the *Familiar*, I say (1) we know so little of the nature of *Demons* and *Spirits*, that 'tis no wonder we cannot certainly divine the reason of so strange an action. And yet (2) we may conjecture at some things that may render it less *improbable*. For some have thought that the *Genii* (whom both the *Platonical* and *Christian Antiquity* thought *embodied*) are recreated by the *reeks* and *vapours* of *humane blood*, and the *spirits* that proceed from them: Which supposal (if we grant *them* bodies) is not unlikely, every thing being *refresh'd* and
nourish'd

nourish'd by its like. And that they are not perfectly *abstract* from all *body* and *matter*, besides the reverence we owe to the wisest antiquity, there are several considerable arguments I could alledge to render it exceeding probable. Which things supposed, the *Devil's sucking* the *Sorceress* is no great wonder, nor difficult to be accounted for. Or perhaps (3) this may be only a *diabolical Sacrament* and *Ceremony* to confirm the *hellish covenant*. To which I adde, (4) That which to me seems most *probable*, viz. That the *Familiar* doth not only *suck* the *Witch*, but in the action infuseth some *poysinous ferment* into her, which gives her *imagination* and *spirits* a *magical tincture*, whereby they become *mischievously influential*; and the word *venefica* intimates some such matter. Now that the *imagination* hath a mighty power in *operation*, is seen in the just now mention'd *Signatures* and *Diseases* that it causeth; and that the *fancy* is *modified* by the *qualities* of the *blood* and *spirits*, is too evident to need proof. Which things supposed, 'tis plain to conceive that the *evil spirit* having *breath'd* some *vile vapour* into the *body* of the *Witch*, it may *taint* her *blood* and *spirits* with a *noxious quality*, by which

which her *infected imagination*, heightned by *melancholy*, and this worse cause, may do much hurt upon *bodies* that are *impressible* by such *influences*. And 'tis very likely that this *ferment* disposeth the *imagination* of the *Sorcereſs* to cause the mentioned *ecstasie*, or *separation* of the *soul* from the *body*, and may perhaps keep the *body* in fit temper for its *re-entry*; as also it may facilitate *transformation*, which, it may be, could not be effected by *ordinary* and *unassisted imagination*.

Thus we see, 'tis not so desperate to form an apprehension of the manner of these odd performances; and though they are not done the way I have describ'd, yet what I have said may help us to a conceit of the possibility, which sufficeth for my purpose. And though the *Hypothesis* I have gone upon will seem as *unlikely* to some, as the things they attempt to explain are to others; yet I must desire their leave to suggest, that most things seem *improbable* (especially to the *conceited*, and *opinionative*) at first *proposal*: and many great *truthes* are *strange* and *odd*, till *custome* and *acquaintance* have reconciled them to our fancies. And I'll presume to add on this occasion, (though I love not

to be *confident* in *affirming*) that there is none of the *Platonical supposals* I have used; but what I could make appear to be *fair* and *reasonable*, to the capable and unprejudic'd.

SECT. IV.

III.

BUT (III.) I come to another prejudice against the being of Witches; which is, That 'tis very improbable that the Devil who is a wise and mighty spirit, should be at the beck of a poor Hag, and have so little to do, as to attend the errands and impotent lusts of a silly old woman.

TO WHICH I might answer, (I) That 'tis much more *improbable* that all the world should be *deceiv'd* in matters of *fact*, and circumstances of the clearest evidence and conviction; than that the Devil, who is *wicked*, should be also *unwise*; and that he that perswades all his subjects and accomplices out of their wits, should

D him-

himself act like his own temptations and persuasions. In brief, there is nothing more strange in this objection, than that *wickedness* is *baseness* and *servility*; and that the *Devil* is at leasure to serve those, he is at leasure to tempt, and industrious to ruine. And again, (2) I see no necessity to believe that the *Devil* is alwayes the *Witches confederate*; but perhaps it may fitly be considered, whether the *Familiar* be not some *departed humane spirit*, forsaken of God and goodness, and swallowed up by the unsatiable desire of mischief and revenge, which possibly by the *lawes* and *capacity* of its *state* it cannot execute *immediately*. And why we should presume that the *Devil* should have the liberty of wandering up and down the Earth and Air, when he is said to be *held in the chains of darkness*; and yet that the *separated souls* of the *wicked*, of whom no such thing is affirm'd in any *Sacred Record* should be thought so *imprison'd*, that they cannot possibly wag from the place of their *confinement*, I know no shadow of conjecture. This *conceit* I'm confident hath prejudic'd many against the belief of *Witches* and *Apparitions*; they not being able to conceive that the *Devil* should be

ludicrous

about *Witchcraft*. 23

ludicrous as *appearing spirits* are sometimes reported to be in their *frolicks*; and they presume, that *souls departed* never *re-visit* the *free* and *open Regions*; which confidence, I know nothing to justify: For since *good men* in their *state of separation* are said to be *ἰσχυροί*, why the *wicked* may not be supposed to be *ἰσχυροί* in the worst sense of the word, I know nothing to help me to imagine. And if it be supposed that the *Imps* of *Witches* are sometimes *wicked spirits* of our *owne kinde* and *nature*, and possibly the *same* that have been *Sorcerers*, and *Witches* in this life: This supposal may give a fairer and more probable account of many of the actions of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, than the other *Hypothesis*, that they are *alwayes Devils*. And to this conjecture I'll adventure to subjoyn another, which also hath its *probability*, *viz.* (3) That 'tis not impossible but that the *Familiars* of *Witches* are a *vile kinde* of *spirits*, of a very *inferiour* constitution and nature, and none of those that were once of the highest *Hierarchy*, now degenerated into the spirits we call *Devils*. And for my part I must confess, that I think the common *division* of *spirits* - much too *general*; conceiving it likely

there may be as great a *variety* of *Intellectual* creatures in the *invisible* world, as there is of *Animals* in the *visible*: and that all the *superiour*, yea, and *inferiour* Regions, have their several kinds of *spirits* differing in their *natural* *perfections*: as well as in the *kinds* and *degrees* of their *depravities*; which being supposed, 'tis very probable that those of the *basest* and *meanest* Orders are they, who submit to the mention'd *servilities*. And thus the *sagest* and *grandeur* of the *Prince* of *darkness* need not be brought into question.

S E C T. V.

IV.

BUT (IV) the opinion of Witches seems to some, to accuse Providence, and to suggest that it hath exposed Innocents to the fury and malice of revengeful Fiends; yea, and supposeth those most obnoxious, for whom we might most reasonably expect a more special tutelary care and protection, most of the cruel practices of those presum'd

In-

Instruments of Hell, being upon Children, who as they least deserve to be deserted by that Providence that superintends all things, so they most need its guardian influence.

TO this so specious an *Objection* I have these things to answer.

(1) *Providence* is an unfathomable Depth; and if we should not believe the *Phænomena* of our senses, before we can reconcile them to our notions of *Providence*, we must be grosser *Scepticks* than ever yet were extant. The *miseries* of the present life, the *unequal distributions* of good and evil, the *ignorance* and *barbarity* of the greatest part of mankind, the *fatal disadvantages* we are all under, and the *hazard* we run of being eternally miserable and undone; these, I say, are things that can hardly be made *consistent* with that *wisdom* and *Goodness* that we are sure hath made, and mingled it self with all things. And yet we believe there is a *beauty* and *harmony*, and *goodness* in that *Providence*, though we cannot *unriddle* it in particular instances; nor, by reason of our ignorance and imperfection, clear it from con-

*tr*adicting appearances; and consequently, we ought not to deny the being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*, because they will create us some difficulties in our notions of *Providence*. But to come more close, (2) Those that believe that *Infants* are *Heirs* of *Hell*, and *Children* of the *Devil* as soon as they are *disclosed* to the world, cannot certainly offer such an objection; for what is a little *trifling pain* of a moment, to those *eternal tortures*, to which, if they *die as soon* as they are *born*, according to the tenour of this Doctrine, they are *everlastingly exposed*? But however the case stands as to *that*, 'tis certain, (3) That *Providence* hath not secur'd them from other *violences* they are obnoxious to, from *cruelty* and *accident*; and yet we accuse *It* not when a whole Townful of *Innocents* fall a *Victim* to the *rage* and *ferity* of *barbarous executioners* in *wars* and *Massacres*. To which I add (4) That 'tis likely the *mischiefs* is not so often done by the *evil spirit* immediately, but by the *malignant* influence of the *Sorceress*, whose *power* of hurting consists in the fore-mention'd *ferment*, which is *infused* into her by the *Familiar*. So that I am apt to think there may be a *power* of *real fascination* in the
Witches

Witches eyes and imagination, by which for the most part she acts upon *tender bodies*. *Nescio quis teneros oculus*———For the *pestilential spirits* being darted by a *spightful and vigorous imagination* from the eye, and meeting with *those* that are *weak and passive* in the bodies which they enter, will not fail to *infect* them with a *noxious quality*, that makes *dangerous and strange alterations* in the person invaded by this *poysinous influence*: which way of acting by *subtil and invisible instruments*, is *ordinary and familiar* in all natural *efficiencies*. And, 'tis now past question, that *nature* for the most part acts by *subtil streams* and *aporrhæas* of *minute particles*, which pass from one body to another. Or however that be, this kind of *agency* is as *conceivable* as any of those *qualities* ignorance hath call'd *sympathy* and *antipathy*, the *reality* of which we *doubt* not, though the *manner of action* be *unknown*. Yea, the thing I speak of is as *easie* to be apprehended, as how *infection* should pass in certain *tenuous streams* through the *air* from one house to another; or, as how the *biting* of a *mad Dog* should fill all the *blood and spirits* with a *venomous and malignant ferment*; the application of the *ver-*

the doing the same in our case, as *that* of *contact* doth in *this*. Yea, some kindes of *fascination* are perform'd in this grosser and more sensible way, as by *striking*, giving *Apples*, and the like, by which the *contagious quality* may be transmitted, as we see *diseases* often are by the *touch*. Now in this way of conjecture, a good account may be given why *witches* are most *powerful* upon *Children* and *timorous* persons, *viz.* because their *spirits* and *imaginati- ons* being *weak* and *passive*, are not able to resist the *fatal invasion*; whereas men of *bold* mindes, who have plenty of *strong* and *vigorous spirits* are secure from the *contagion*, as in *pestilential Airs* *clean* bodies are not so liable to infection as other tempers. Thus then we see 'tis likely enough, that very often the *Sorcereſſ* her self doth the *mischief*; and we know, *de facto*, that *Providence* doth not alwayes secure us from one anothers *injuries*, And yet I must confess, that many times also the evil *spirit* is the *mischievous Agent*; though this confession draw on me another objection, which I next propose;

SECT. VI.

V.

(V.) **T**HEN it may be said, that if wicked spirits can hurt us by the direction, and at the desire of a Witch, one would think they should have the same power to do us injury without instigation or compact; and if this be granted, 'tis a wonder that we are not alwayes annoy'd and infested by them. To which

I RETURN, (1) That the laws, liberties, and restraints of the inhabitants of the other world are to us utterly unknown; and this way we can only argue our selves into confessions of our ignorance, which every man must acknowledge that is not as immodest, as ignorant. It must be granted by all that own the being, power, and malice of evil spirits, that the security we enjoy is wonderful, whether they act by Witches or not; and by what Laws they are kept from making us a prey, to
speak

speak like *Philosophers*, we cannot tell: yea, why they should be permitted to tempt and ruine us in our *Souls*, and restrain'd from touching, or hurting us in our *Bodies*, is a *mystery* not easily *accountable*. But yet (2) though we acknowledge their power to vex and torment us in our bodies also; yet a reason may be given why they are less frequent in this kind of mischief, *viz.* because their main designs are levell'd against the interest and happiness of our *Souls*, which they can best promote, when their actions are most *sly* and *secret*; whereas did they ordinarily persecute men in their bodies, their *agency* and *wicked influence* would be discover'd, and make a mighty noise in the world, whereby men would be awaken'd to a suitable and vigorous opposition, by the use of such means as would engage *Providence* to rescue them from their *rage* and *cruelties*; and at last defeat them in their great purposes of *undoing* us *eternally*. Thus we may conceive that the *security* we enjoy may well enough *consist* with the *power* and *malice* of those *evil spirits*; and upon this account we may suppose that *Laws* of their own may prohibit their *unlicensed injuries*, not from any *goodness* there

there is in their *Constitutions*, but in order to the more *successful* carrying on the *projects* of the *dark Kingdom*; as *Generals* forbid *plunder*, not out of *love* to their *Enemies*, but in order to their own *success*. And hence (3) we may suppose a *Law* of *permission* to hurt us at the instance of the *Sorcerers*, may well stand with the *polity* of *Hell*, since by gratifying the wicked person they encourage her in *malice* and *revenge*; and promote thereby the main ends of their *black confederacy*, which are to propagate *wickedness*, and to ruine us in our *eternal interests*. And yet (4) 'tis clear to those that believe the *History* of the *Gospel*, that *wicked spirits* have vexed the bodies of men, without any *instigation* that we read of; and at this day 'tis very likely that many of the *strange accidents* and *diseases* that befall us, may be the *infliction* of *evil spirits*, prompted to hurt us only by the delight they take in *mischiefs*. So that we cannot argue the improbability of their hurting *Children* and others by *Witches*, from our own *security* and *freedom* from the *effects* of their *malice*, which perhaps we feel in more instances than we are aware of.

SECT. VII.

VI.

BUT (VI) *another prejudice against the belief of Witches, is, a presumption upon the enormous force of melancholy and imagination, which without doubt can do wonderful things, and beget strange persuasions; and to these causes some ascribe the presum'd effects of Sorcery and Witchcraft. To which I reply briefly; and yet I hope sufficiently,*

(1) **T**HAT to resolve all the clear circumstances of *Fact*, which we finde, *is* well attested and confirm'd Relations of this kinde, into the power of *deceivable imagination*, is to make fancy the greater *prodigy*; and to suppose, that it can do *stranger feats* than are believed of any other kinde of *fascination*. And to think that *Pins and Nails*, for instance, can, by the *power of imagination* be convey'd within the skin; or that *imagination*, should

should deceive so many as have been witnesses in *objects of sense*, in all the circumstances of *discovery*; this, I say, is to be infinitely more *credulous* than the assertors of *Sorcery* and *Demoniack Contracts*. And by the same reason it may be believ'd, that all the *Battels* and *strange events* of the world, which our selves have not seen, are but *dreams* and fond *imaginations*, and like those that are fought in the *clouds*, when the *brains* of the *deluded spectatours* are the only *Theatre* of those *fancied transactions*. And (2) to deny evidence of *fact*, because *their imagination* may deceive the *Relators*, when we have no reason to think so but a bare presumption, that there is no such thing as is related, is quite to destroy the credit of all *humane testimony*, and to make *all men liars* in a larger sense than the *Prophet* concluded in his *haste*. For not only the *melancholick* and the *fanciful*, but the *grave* and the *sober*, whose judgements we have no reason to suspect to be tainted by their *imaginations*, have from their own knowledge and experience made reports of this nature. But to this it will possibly be rejoyn'd, and the *Reply* will be another *prejudice* against the belief for which I contend, *viz.*

SECT. VIII.

VII.

(VII.) **T**HAT 'tis a suspicious circumstance that Witchcraft is but a fancy, since the persons that are accused are commonly poor and miserable old women, who are overgrown with discontent and melancholy, which are very imaginative; and the persons said to be bewitch'd are for the most part Children, or people very weak, who are easily imposed upon, and are apt to receive strong impressions from nothing: whereas were there any such thing really, 'tis not likely, but that the more cunning and subtil desperado's, who might the more successfully carry on the mischievous designs of the dark Kingdom, should be oftner engaged in those black confederacies, and also one would expect effects of the hellish combination upon others than the innocent, and ignorant,

TO

TO WHICH *Objection* it might perhaps be enough to return (as hath been above suggested) that nothing can be concluded by *this* and such like arguings, but that the *policy* and *menages* of the *instruments* of darkness are to us altogether *unknown*, and as much in the *dark* as their *natures*; mankind being no more acquainted with the *reasons* and *methods* of action in the other world, than poor *Cottagers* and *Mechanicks* are with the *intrigues* of *Government*, and *reasons* of *State*. Yea peradventure (2) 'tis one of the great *designs*, as 'tis certainly the *interest*, of those wicked *Agents*, and *Machinators*, industriously to hide from us their *influences* and *wayes* of acting, and to work, as near as is *possible*, *incognito*; upon which supposal 'tis easie to conceive a reason, why they most commonly work by, and upon the weak and the ignorant, who can make no *cunning observations*, or tell *credible tales* to detect their *artifice*. Besides (3) 'tis likely a *strong imagination*, that cannot be *weaken'd* or *disturb'd* by a *busie* and *subtil ratiocination*, is a necessary requisite to those wicked performances

manes; and without doubt an *heightned* and *obstinate fancy* hath a great influence upon *impressible spirits*; yea, and as I have conjectur'd before, on the more *passive* and *susceptible bodies*. And I am very apt to believe, that there are as *real communications* and *intercourses* between our *spirits*, as there are between *material agents*; which *secret influences*, though they are *unknown* in their *nature*, and *ways of acting*, yet they are sufficiently *felt* in their *effects*: for *experience* attests, that some by the very *majesty* and *greatness* of their *spirits*, discover'd by nothing but a certain *noble air* that accompanies them, will *bear down* others *less great* and *generous*, and make them *sneak* before them; and some, by I know not what *stupifying vertue*, will tie up the *tongue*, and confine the *spirits* of those who are otherwise *brisk* and *voluble*. Which thing supposed, the *influences* of a *spirit* possess'd of an *active* and *enormous imagination*, may be *malign* and *fatal* where they cannot be resisted; especially when they are accompanied by those *poysonous reaks* that the *evil spirit* breathes into the *Sorceress*, which likely are *shot out*, and *applied* by a *fancy* heightned and prepared by *melancholy* and

and discontent. And thus we may conceive why the *melancholick* and *envious* are used upon such occasions; and for the same reason the *ignorant*, since *knowledge* checks and controuls *imagination*; and those that abound much in the *imaginative faculties* do not usually exceed in the *rational*. And perhaps (4) the *Demon* himself useth the *imagination* of the *Witch* so qualified for his purpose, even in those actions of mischief which are more properly *his*; for it is most probable, that *spirits* act not upon *bodies* immediately, and by their *naked essence*, but by *meanes proportionate* and *fitable instruments* that they use; upon which account likely 'tis so strictly required, that the *Sorcereſſ* should believe, that to her *imagination* might be more at the devotion of the *mischievous Agent*. And for the same reason also *Ceremonies* are used in *Inchantments*, viz. for the begetting this *diabolical faith*, and heightning the *fancy* to a degree of *strength* and *virtue* sufficient to make it a fit instrument for the design'd performance. These I think are reasons of likelihood and probability, why the *hellish confederates* are mostly the *ignorant* and the *melancholick*, so pass then to another prejudice.

SECT, IX.

VIII.

(VIII) **T**HE frequent impostures that are met with in this kinde, beget in some a belief, that all such relations are forgeries and tales; and if we urge the evidence of a story for the belief of Witches or Apparitions, they will produce two as seemingly strong and plausible, which shall conclude in mistake and design; inferring thence, that all others are of the same quality and credit. But such arguers may please to consider,

(I) **T**HAT a single relation for Affirmative, sufficiently confirmed and attested, is worth a thousand tales of forgery and imposture, from whence an universal Negative cannot be concluded. So that, though all the Object stories be true, and an hundred times many more such deceptions; yet one relation, wherein no fallacy or fraud could be suspected for our Affirmative, would spe

any *Conclusion* could be erected on them.
And

(2) IT seems to me a belief sufficiently *bold* and *precarious*, that all these *relations* of *forgery* and *mistake* should be certain, and not one among all those which attest the *Affirmative* *reality*, with circumstances as good as could be expected; or wish'd, should be *true*; but all *fabulous* and *vain*. And they have no reason to object *credulity* to the assertors of *Sorcery* and *Witchcraft*, that can swallow so large a morsel. And I desire such Objectors to consider,

(3) WHETHER it be fair to infer, that because there are some *Cheats* and *Impostures*, that therefore there are no *Realities*. Indeed frequency of *deceit* and *fallacy* will warrant a greater care and caution in *examining*; and *scrupulosity* and *shyness* of *assent* to things wherein *fraud* hath been *practiced*, or may in the least degree be *suspected*: But, to conclude, because that an old woman's *fancy* abused her, or some *knaveish* fellows put *tricks* upon the *ignorant* and *timorous*, that therefore whole *Assises* have been a thousand times deceived in *judgements* upon *matters* of *fact*, and numbers of sober persons

have been forsworn in things wherein perjury could not advantage them; I say, such inferences are as void of reason, as they are of charity and good manners.

 SECT. X

IX.

BUT (IX) It may be suggested further, That it cannot be imagin'd what design the Devil should have in making those solemn compacts, since persons of such debauch'd and irreclaimable dispositions as those with whom he is supposed to confederate, are pretty securely his, antecedently to the bargain, and cannot be more so by it, since they cannot put their souls out of possibility of the Divine Grace, but by the Sin that is unpardonable; or if they could so dispose and give away themselves, it will to some seem very unlikely, that a great and mighty Spirit should oblige himself to such observances, and keep such a-do to secure the soul of a silly body, which 'twere odds but it would be His, though He put himself to no further trouble than that of his ordinary temptations.

TO

TO WHICH suggestions 'twere enough to say, that 'tis sufficient if the *thing* be well prov'd, though the *design* be not known. And to argue negatively à *fine*, is very unconvulsive in such matters. The Laws and affairs of the other world (as hath been intimated) are vastly differing from those of our Regions, and therefore 'tis no wonder we cannot judge of their *designs*, when we know nothing of their *menages*; and so little of their *natures*. The ignorant *looker-on* can't imagine what the *Limmer* means by those seemingly *rude lines* and *scravels* which he intends for the *rudiments* of a *Picture*; and the *Figures* of *Mathematick Operation* are *non-sense*, and *dash*es at a venture to one un-instructed in *Mechanicks*. We are in the dark to one another's purposes and intendments; and there are a thousand intrigues in our little matters, which will not presently confess their *design* even to *sagacious inquisitors*. And therefore 'tis folly and incogitancy to argue any thing one way or other from the *designs* of a sort of Beings, with whom we so little communicate; and possibly

we can take no more aim, or guess at their *projects* and *designments*, than the *gazing Beasts* can do at ours, when they see the *Traps* and *Gins* that are laid for them, but understand nothing what they mean. Thus in general.

BUT I attempt something more particularly, in order to which I must premise that the *Devil* is a name for a *Body Politick*, in which there are very different *Orders* and *Degrees* of *Spirits*, and perhaps in as much *variety* of *place* and *state*, as among ourselves; so that 'tis not one and the same person that makes all the compacts with those abused and seduced Souls, but they are *divers*, and those 'tis like of the meanest and basest quality in the *Kingdom of darkness*; which being supposed, I offer this account of the *probable design* of those *wicked Agents*, viz. That having none to rule or tyrannize over within the *Circle* of their own nature and government, they affect a *prond Empire* over us (the desire of *Dominion* and *Authority* being largely spread through the whole *circumference* of *degenerated nature*, especially among those, whose pride was their *original transgression*) every one of these then desires to get him *Vassals* to pay him

him homage, and to be employed like
 Slaves in the services of his lusts and ap-
 petites; to gratifie which desire, 'tis like
 enough to be provided and allowed by the
constitution of their *State* and *Govern-*
ment, that every *wicked spirit* shall have
 those Souls as his *property*, and *particular*
servants and *attendants*, whom he can
 catch in such *compacts*; as those *wild Beasts*
 that we can take in *hunting*, are by the
 allowance of the Law our *own*; and those
 Slaves that a man hath *purchas'd*, are his
 peculiar goods, and the vassals of his will.
 Or rather those deluding Fiends are like
 the seducing fellows we call *Spirits*, who
 inveigle Children by their false and flat-
 tering promises, and carry them away to
 the *Plantations* of *America*, to be servilely
 employed there in the works of *their* pro-
 fit and advantage. And as those base Agents
 will humour and flatter the simple unwary
 Youth, till they are on Ship-board, and
 without the reach of those that might re-
 scue them from their hands: In like man-
 ner the more *mischievous Tempter* studies
 to gratifie, please, and accomodate those
 he deals with in this kind, till death hath
 lanch'd them into the *Deep*, and they are
 past the danger of *Prayers*, *Repentance*,

and Endeavours; and then He useth them as pleaseth Him. This account I think is not unreasonable, and 'twill fully answer the Objection. For though the matter be not as I have conjectur'd, yet 'twill suggest a way how it may be conceiv'd, which nulls the pretence, That the Design is inconceivable.

SECT. XI.

X.

BUT then (X) we are still liable to be question'd, how it comes about, that those proud and insolent Designers practise in this kind upon so few, when one would expect, that they should be still trading this way, and every where be driving on the project, which the vileness of men makes so feasible, and would so much serve the interest of their lusts.

TO WHICH, among other things that might be suggested, I return,
(1) That we are never liable to be so betrayed.

betrayed and, abused, till by our *vile dispositions* and *tendencies* we have forfeited the *tutelary care*, and *oversight* of the better Spirits; who, though generally they are our *guard* and *defence* against the malice and violence of *evil Angels*, yet it may well enough be thought, that sometimes they may take their leave of such as are swallowed up by *malice*, *envie*, and *desire* of *revenge*, qualities most contrary to their *Life* and *Nature*; and leave them exposed to the *invasion*, and *solicitations* of those *wicked Spirits*, to whom such *hateful Attributes* make them very *sutable*. And if there be particular *guardian Angels*, as 'tis not absurd to fancy, it may then well be supposed, that no man is obnoxious to those projects, and attempts, but only such whose *vile* and *mischievous natures* have driven from them their *protecting Genius*. And against this *dereliction* to the power of *evil spirits*, 'tis likely enough what some affirm, that the *Royal Psalmist* directs that Prayer, *Psal. LXXI. ix, x. Cast me not off in the time of old age, forsake me not when my strength faileth. For — They that keep my soul* [*οὐκ ἀποστήσεις τὸ πνεῦμα μου*, as the *LXX* and the *Vulgar Latin, Qui custodiunt animam meam*] *they take coun-*
sel

set together, saying, God hath forsaken him, persecute him and take him, for there is none to deliver him. But I adde, (2) That 'tis very probable, that the state wherein they are, will not easily permit palpable intercourses between the bad Genii, and mankind, since 'tis like enough that their own Laws and Government do not allow their frequent excursions into this world. Or, it may with as great probability be supposed, that 'tis a very hard and painful thing for them, to force their thin and tenuious bodies into a visible consistence, and such shapes as are necessary for their designs in their correspondencies with witches. For in this action their bodies must needs be exceedingly compress'd, which cannot well be without a painful sense. And this is perhaps a reason why there are so few Apparitions, and why appearing spirits are commonly in such haste to be gone, viz. that they may be deliver'd from the unnatural pressure of their tender vehicles, which I confess holds more, in the apparitions of good than evil Spirits; most Relations of this kinde, describing their discoveries of themselves, as very transient, (though for those the Holy Scripture records, there may be peculiar reason,

son, why they are not so) whereas the wicked ones are not altogether so quick, and hasty in their Visits: The reason of which probably is, the great subtilty and tenuity of the bodies of the former, which will require far greater degrees of compression, and consequently of pain, to make them visible; whereas the latter, are more faculent and gross, and so nearer allyed to palpable consistencies, and more easily reduceable to appearance and visibility.

AT this turn, Sir, you may perceive that I have again made use of the *Platonick Hypothesis*, That Spirits are embodied, upon which indeed a great part of my Discourse is grounded: And therefore I hold my self obliged to a short account of that supposal. It seems then to me very probable from the Nature of Sense, and Analogy of Nature. For (1) We perceive in our selves, that all Sense is caus'd and excited by motion made in matter; and when those motions which convey sensible impressions to the Brain, the Seat of Sense are intercepted, Sense is lost: So that, if we suppose Spirits perfectly to be disjoyn'd from all matter, 'tis not conceivable how they can have the sense of any thing; For how material Objects should any way be perceiv'd

perceiv'd, or felt without *vital union* with *matter*, 'tis not possible to imagine. Nor doth it (2.) seem suitable to the *Analogy* of *Nature*, which useth not to make *precipitious leaps* from one thing to another, but usually proceeds by *orderly steps* and *gradations*: whereas were there no *order* of *Beings* between *Us*, who are so deeply plunged into the grossest matter, and *pure, unbodied Spirits*, 'twere a mighty *jump* in *Nature*. Since then the greatest part of the world consists of the *finer* portions of matter, and our own Souls are *immediately united* unto *these*, 'tis infinitely probable to conjecture, that the nearer orders of *Spirits* are *vitally joyn'd* to such *Bodies*; and so *Nature* by *Degrees* ascending still by the more *refin'd* and *subtile* matter, gets at last to the *pure Nbs* or *immaterial minds*, which the *Platonists* made the *highest Order* of *created Beings*. But of this I have discoursed elsewhere, and have said thus much of it at present, because it will enable me to add another Reason of the *unfrequency* of *Apparitions* and *Compacts*, viz.

(3.) BECAUSE 'tis very likely, that *these Regions* are very *unsuitable*, and *disproportion'd* to the *frame* and *temper* of their

their *Senses* and *Bodies*; so that perhaps, the *Courser Spirits* can no more bear the *Air* of our *World*, than *Bats* and *Owls* can the brightest beams of *Day*. Nor can the *Purer* and *Better* any more endure the *noysom steams*, and *poysonous reeks* of this *Dunghil Earth*, than the *Delicate* can bear a confinement in *nasty Dungeons*, and the *foul squalid Caverns* of uncomfortable *Darkness*. So that 'tis no more wonder, that the better *Spirits* no oftner appear, than that men are not more frequently in the *Dark Hollows* under ground. Nor is't any more strange that *evil Spirits* so rarely visit us, than that *Fishes* do not ordinarily fly in the *Air*, as 'tis said one sort of them doth; or that we see not the *Batt* daily fluttering in the beams of the *Sun*. And now by the help of what I have spoken under this Head, I am provided with somethings wherewith to dis-
able another *Objection*, which I thus propose:

SECT.

SECT. XII.

XI.

(XI.) **I**F THERE be such an intercourse between Evil Spirits and the Wicked, How comes it about that there is no correspondence between Good Angels and the Vertuous? since without doubt these are as desirous to propagate the Spirit and Designs of the upper and better world, as those are to promote the Interest of the Kingdom of Darkness.

WHICH way of arguing is still from our Ignorance of the State and Government of the other World, which must be confest, and may, without prejudice to the Proposition I defend: But particularly, I say, (1) That we have ground enough to believe, that Good Spirits do interpose in, yea, and govern our Affairs. For that there is a Providence reaching from Heaven to Earth, is generally acknowledg'd; but that *this* supposeth all things

things to be order'd by the *immediate influence*, and *interposal* of the *Supreme Deity*, some think, is not very *Philosophical* to suppose; since, if we judge by the *Analogy* of the *Natural world*, all things we see are carryed on by the *Ministry* of *Second Causes*, and *intermediate Agents*. And it doth not seem so *Magnificent* and *Becoming* an apprehension of the *Supreme Numen*, to fancy His *immediate hand* in every *trivial Management*. But 'tis exceeding likely to conjecture, that much of the *Government* of us, and our Affairs, is committed to the *better Spirits*, with a due *subordination* and *subserviency* to the Will of the chief *Rector* of the *Universe*. And 'tis not absurd to believe, that there is a *Government* runs from *Highest* to *Lowest*, the *better* and more *perfect* orders of Being still ruling the *inferiour* and *less perfect*. So that some one would fancy that perhaps the *Angels* may manage us, as we do the *Creatures* that God and Nature have placed under our *Empire* and *Dominion*. But however that is, That God rules the lower World by the *Ministry* of *Angels*, is very consonant to the *sacred Oracles*. Thus, *Deut. XXXII. viii, ix.* *When the most High divided the Nations their inheritance, when he separated*

separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people, *Kar aedpar ayslaw* *ou*, according to the number of the Angels of God; as the Septuagint renders it; the Authority of which Translation, is abundantly credited and asserted, by its being quoted in the New Testament, without notice of the Hebrew Text; even there where it differs from it, as learned men have observ'd. We know also, that Angels were very familiar with the Patriarchs of old; and Jacob's Ladder is a *Mysterie*, which imports their *ministring* in the affairs of the Lower World. Thus Origen and others understand, that to be spoken by the *Presidential Angels*. *Jerem. LI. ix. we would have healed BABYLON, but she is not healed, forsake her, and let us go.* Like the Voice heard in the Temple before the taking of Jerusalem by Titus, *Metebaros* *wasar*. And before Nebuchadnezzar was sent to learn Wisdom and Religion among the Beasts, He sees a Watcher, according to the 70. an Angel, and an holy One come down from heaven, *Dan. IV. xiii. who pronounceth the sad Decree against Him, and calls it the Decree of the watchers, who very probably were the Guardian Genii of Himself and his Kingdom.*

dom. And that there are particular Angels that have the special Rule and Government of particular Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, yea and of Persons, I know nothing that can make improbable: The instance is notorious in Daniel, of the Angels of Persia and Gracia, that hindred the other that was engaged for the concerns of Judea; yea, our Saviour himself tells us, that Children have their Angels, and the Congregation of Disciples supposed that St. Peter had his. Which things, if they be granted, the good Spirits have not so little to do with us, and our matters, as is generally believed. And perhaps it would not be absurd, if we referr'd many of the strange thwarts, and unexpected events, the disappointments and lucky coincidences that befall us, the unaccountable fortunes and successes that attend some lucky men, and the unhappy fates that dog others that seem born to be miserable; the Fame and Favour that still waits on some without any conceivable motive to allure it, and the general neglect of others more deserving, whose worth is not acknowledg'd, I say, these and such like odd things, may with the greatest probability be resolv'd into the Conduct and Menages of those in-

visible supervisors, that preside over, and govern our affairs.

BUT if they so far concern themselves in our matters, how is it that they appear not to maintain a visible and constant correspondence with some of the better Mortals, who are most fitted for their Communications and their influence? To which I have said some things already, when I accounted for the unfrequency of Apparitions; and I now add what I intend for another return to the main Objection, viz.

(2.) *THAT the apparition of good Spirits is not needful for the Designs of the better world, whatever such may be for the interest of the other. For we have had the Appearance and Cohabitation of the Son of God, we have Moses and the Prophets, and the continued influence of the Spirit, the greatest Arguments to strengthen Faith, the most powerful Motives to excite our Love, and the Noblest Encouragements to quicken and raise our desires and hopes, any of which are more than the apparition of an Angel; which would indeed be a great gratification of the Animal Life, but 'twould render our Faith less noble and less generous, were it frequently so assisted: Blessed are they*

they that believe, and yet have not seen. Besides which, the good *Angels* have no such ends to prosecute, as the gaining any Vassals to serve them, they being *ministering Spirits* for our good, and no *self-designers* for a proud and insolent Dominion over us. And it may be perhaps not impertinently added, That they are not alwayes *evil Spirits* that appear, as is, I know not well upon what grounds, generally imagined; but that the extraordinary *detections* of Murders, latent Treasures, falsified and unfulfill'd Bequests, which are sometimes made by Apparitions, may be the courteous Discoveries of the better, and more benign *Genii*. Yea, 'tis not unlikely, that those *warnings* that the world sometimes hath of approaching Judgments and Calamities by *Prodigies*, and sundry odd *Phanomena*, are the kinde Informations of some of the Inhabitants of the upper world. Thus, was *Jerusalem* forewarned before its sacking by *Antiochus*, by those *Aiery Horsemen* that were seen through all the City, for almost forty dayes together, 2 Mac. V. ii, iii. And the other *Prodigious Portents* that fore-ran the Destruction by *Titus*: which I mention, because they are notorious instances,

And though, for mine own part, I scorn the *ordinary Tales of Prodigies*, which proceed from *superstitious fears*, and *unacquaintance* with *Nature*, and have been used to bad purposes by the *Zealous* and the *Ignorant*; Yet I think that the Arguments that are brought by a late very ingenious Author, to conclude against such Warnings and Predictions in the whole kinde, are *short* and *inconsequent*, and built upon too narrow *Hypotheses*. For if it be supposed, that there is a sort of Spirits over us, and about us, who can give a probable guess at the more *remarkable futurities*, I know not why it may not be conjectured, that the kindness they have for us, and the appetite of fore-telling strange things, and the putting the world upon expectation, which we find is very grateful to our own Natures, may not incline *them* also to give us some general notice of those uncommon Events which they foresee. And I yet perceive no reason we have to fancy, that whatever is done in this kind, must needs be either *immediately* from *Heaven*, or from *Angels*, by *extraordinary commission* and *appointment*. But it seems to me not unreasonable to believe, that *those officious Spirits*

Spirits that oversee our affairs, perceiving some *mighty and sad alterations* at hand, in which their *Charge* is much concerned, cannot chuse, by reason of their *affection* to us, but give us some *seasonable hints* of those *approaching Calamities*; to which also their natural desire to *foretell strange things* to come, may contribute to incline them. And by this *Hypothesis*, the *fairest probabilities*, and *strongest ratiocinations* against *Prodigies*, may be made unserviceable. But this only by the way.

SECT. XIII.

I Desire it may be considered further, (3.) THAT *God* himself affords his *intimacies*, and *converses* to the *better souls*, that are prepared for it; which is a *privilege* infinitely beyond *Angelical correspondence*.

I confess the *proud*, and *phantastick pretences* of many of the *conceited Melancholists* in this age, to *Divine Communion*, have prejudiced divers intelligent persons against the *belief* of any such *happy vouchsafement*; so that they conclude the Do-

Strine of *immediate Communion* with the *Deity* in this *Life* to be but an *high flown* notion of *warme imagination*, and *over-lushious self-flattery*; and I acknowledge I have my self had thoughts of this nature, supposing *Communion* with *God* to be nothing else but the *exercise* of *vertue*, and *that peace*, and *those comforts* which naturally result from it.

But I have considered since, that *God's* more *near* and *immediate* imparting himself to the soul that is prepared for that happiness by *Divine Love*, *Humility*, and *Resignation*, in the way of a *vital touch*, and *sense*, is a thing *possible* in it self, and will be a great part of our *heaven*. That *Glory* is *begun* in *Grace*, and *God* is pleased to give some *excellent* souls the *happy Antepast*. That *holy men* in *ancient times* have *sought* and *gloried* in *this injoyment*, and never *complain* so *soresly* as when it was *withheld*, and *interrupted*. That the *expressions* of *Scripture* run *infinitely this way*, and the *best* of *Modern good men*, do from their own *experience* attest it. That *this spiritualizeth Religion*, and renders its *injoyments* more *comfortable*, and *delicious*. That it keeps the soul under a *vivid sense* of *God*, and is a *grand security* against Temptation.

ptation ; That It holds it steady amid the
flatteries of a *prosperous* state, and gives it
the most *grounded anchorage*, and *support*
amid the *waves* of an *adverse* condition ;
That 'tis the noblest *incouragement* to *ver-*
tue, and the *biggest* assurance of an *happy*
Immortality ; I say, I considered these
weighty things, and wondred at the *care-*
lessness, and *prejudice* of thoughts that oc-
casion'd my suspecting the *reality* of so
glorious a *priviledge* ; I saw how little
reason there is in denying matters of *in-*
ward sense, because our selves do not *feel*
them, or cannot form an apprehension of
them in our minds. I am convinced that
things of *gust*, and *relish* must be judg'd by
the *sentient*, and *vital faculties*, and not by
the *noetical exercises* of *speculative* under-
standings : And upon the whole, I believe
infinitely that the *Divine Spirit* affords its
sensible presence, and *immediate beatifick*
Touch to some *rare* souls, who are di-
vested of *carnal self*, and *mundane pleasures* ;
abstracted from the *body*, by *Prayer* and
holy Meditation ; *spiritual* in their *desires*,
and *calm* in their *affections* ; *devout* Lovers
of *God* ; and *vertue*, and *tenderly affecti-*
onate to all the world ; *sincere* in their
aimes, and *circumspect* in their *actions* ; in-

larged in their souls, and clear in their minds: *These* I think are the *dispositions* that are requisite to fit us for *Divine Communion*; and God transacts not in this *near* way, but with *prepared spirits* who are thus disposed for the *manifestation* of his *presence*, and his *Influence*: And such, I believe
 → he never fails to bless with these *happy fore-tasts* of *Glory*.

But for those that are *passionate*, and *conceited*, *turbulent* and *notional*, *confident* and *immodest*, *imperious* and *malicious*; That doat upon *trifles*, and run *fiercely* in the *wayes* of a *Sect*, that are *lifted* up in the apprehension of the *glorious prerogatives* of *themselves*, and their *party*, and scorn all the world besides; For such, I say, be their *pretensions* *what they will*, to *Divine Communion*, *illapses*, and *discoveries*, I believe them not; Their *phancies* abuse them, or they would us. For what *communion* hath *Light* with *Darkness*, or the *Spirit* of the *HOLT ONE* with *those*, whose *genius* and *wayes* are so *unlike* him. But the other *excellent* souls I described, will as certainly be visited by the *Divine presence*, and *converse*, as the *Chrystaline streams* are, with the *beams* of *light*, or the *fiery* prepared *earth* whose *seed* is in it self, will

will be actuated by the *Spirit of Nature*.

So that, there is no reason to *Object* here the want of *Angelical Communications*, though there were none vouchsafed us, since good men enjoy the *Divine*, which are infinitely more *satisfactory*, and *indearing*.

And now I may have leave to proceed to the next *Objection* which may be made to speak thus :

SECT. XIII.

XII.

(XII.) **T**HE BELIEF of Witches and the wonderful things they are said to perform by the help of the Confederate Demon, weakens our Faith, and exposeth the World to Infidelity in the great matters of our Religion. For if They by Diabolical assistance, can inflict and cure Diseases, and do things so much beyond the comprehension of our Philosophy, and activity of common Nature; what assurance can we have, that the Miracles that confirm our

our Gospel were not the effects of a Compact of like nature, and that Devils were not cast out by Beelzebub? If evil Spirits can assume Bodies, and render themselves visible in humane likeness; what security can we have of the reality of the Resurrection of Christ? And if, by their help, Witches can enter Chambers invisibly through Key-holes and little unperceived Crannies, and transform themselves at pleasure; what Arguments of Divinity are there in our Saviour's shewing himself in the midst of his Disciples, when the Doors were shut, and his Transfiguration in the Mount? Miracles are the great inducements of Belief, and how shall we distinguish a Miracle from a Lying Wonder; a Testimony from Heaven, from a Trick of the Angels of Hell; if they can perform things that astonish and confound our Reasons, and are beyond all the Possibilities of Humane Nature? This Objection is spiteful and mischievous, but I thus endeavour to dispatch it.

(1.) **T**HE WONDERS done by *Confederacy with wicked Spirits*, cannot derive a suspicion upon the undoubted *Miracles* that were wrought

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wrought by the Author and Promulgers of our Religion, as if *they* were performed by *Diabolical Compact*, since their *Spirit*, *Endeavours*, and *Designs*, were notoriously contrary to all the *Tendencies*, *Aims*, and *Interests* of the *Kingdome* of *Darkness*. For, as to the Life and Temper of the Blessed and adorable *JESUS*, we know there was an incomparable *sweetness* in his *Nature*, *Humility* in his *Manners*, *Calmness* in his *Temper*, *Compassion* in his *Miracles*, *Modesty* in his *Expressions*, *Holiness* in all his *Actions*, *Hatred* of *Vice* and *Baseness*, and *Love* to all the *World*; all which are *essentially* contrary to the *Nature* and *Constitution* of *Apostate Spirits*, who abound in *Pride* and *Rancour*, *Insolence* and *Rudeness*, *Tyranny* and *Baseness*, universal *Malice*, and *Hatred* of *Men*. And their *Designs* are as opposite, as their *Spirit* and their *Genius*. And now, Can the *Sun* borrow its *Light* from the *bottomless Abyss*? Can *Heat* and *Warmth* flow in upon the *World* from the *Regions* of *Snow* and *Ice*? Can *Fire* freeze, and *Water* burn? Can *Natures*, so infinitely contrary, *communicate*, and jump in *projects*, that are *destructive* to each others *known Interests*? Is there any *Balsome* in the
Cocka-

Cockatrices Egge? or, Can the *Spirit* of *Life* flow from the *Venome* of the *Asp*? Will the *Prince* of *Darkness* strengthen the *Arm* that is *stretcht* out to pluck his *Usurp't Scepter*, and his *Spoils* from him? And will he lend his *Legions*, to assist the *Armies* of his *Enemy* against him? No, these are impossible *Supposals*; No intelligent Being will industriously and knowingly contribute to the *Contradiction* of its own *Principles*, the *Defeat* of its *Purposes*, and the *Ruine* of its own dearest *Interests*. There is no fear *then*, that our *Faith* should receive prejudice from the *acknowledgement* of the *Being* of *Witches*, and *power* of *evil Spirits*, since 'tis not the *doing wonderful things* that is the only *Evidence* that the *Holy JESUS* was from *God*, and his *Doctrine* true; but the *conjunction* of other circumstances, the *holiness* of his *Life*, the *reasonableness* of his *Religion*, and the *excellency* of his *Designs*, added credit to his *Works*, and strengthened the *great Conclusion*, That he could be no other than the *Son* of *God*, and *Saviour* of the *world*. But besides, I say,

(2.) THAT since *infinite wisdom* and *Goodness* rules the *World*, it cannot be conceiv'd, that they should give up the greatest

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greatest part of men to *unavoidable* deception. And if *evil Angels*, by their *Confederates* are permitted to perform such *astonishing* things, as seem so evidently to carry *God's Seal* and *Power* with them, for the confirmation of *Falshoods*, and gaining credit to *Impostors*, without any *counter-evidence* to disabuse the World; Mankind is exposed to *sad* and *fatal delusion*. And to say that *Providence* will suffer us to be deceived in things of the greatest concernment, when we use the best of our care and endeavours to prevent it, is to speak hard things of *God*; and in effect to affirm, That He hath nothing to do in the Government of the World, or doth not concern himself in the affairs of poor forlorn Men. And if the *Providence* and *Goodness* of *God* be not a security unto us against such *Deceptions*, we cannot be assured, but that we are alwayes abused by those *mischievous Agents*, in the *Objects* of *plain sense*, and in all the matters of our daily Converses. If *ONE* that pretends he is *immediately* sent from *God*, to overthrow the ancient *Fabrick* of *Established worship*, and to erect a *New Religion* in *His Name*, shall be *born* of a *Virgin*, and honour'd by a *miraculous Star*; proclaimed

ed by a *Song* of seeming *Angels of Light*, and *worshipped* by the *wise Sages* of the *World*; Revered by those of the greatest *austerity*, and *admired* by all for a *miraculous wisdom*, beyond his *Education* and his *Tears*: If He shall *feed Multitudes* with almost *nothing*, and *fast himself* beyond all the *possibilities* of *Nature*: If He shall be *transformed* into the *appearance* of *extraordinary Glory*, and converse with *departed Prophets* in their *visible Forms*: If He shall *Cure* all *Diseases* without *Physick* or *Endeavour*, and *raise the Dead* to *Life* after they have *stunck* in their *Graves*: If He shall be *honoured* by *Voices* from *Heaven*, and *attract* the *universal wonder* of *Princes* and *People*: If he shall *allay Tempests* with a *Beck*, and *cast out Devils* with a *word*: If he shall *foretell* his own *Death* particularly, with its *Tragical Circumstances*, and his *Resurrection* after it: If the *Veil* of the most famous *Temple* in the *world* shall be *rent*, and the *Sun darkened* at his *Funeral*: If He shall, within the *time foretold*, *break the bonds* of *Death*, and *lift up his Head* out of the *Grave*: If *Multitudes* of other *departed Souls* shall *arise with Him*, to attend at the *Solemnity* of his *Resurrection*: If He shall after
Death,

Death, *visibly converse*, and eat, and drink with divers *persons*, who could not be deceived in a matter of *clear sense*, and *ascend* in Glory in the presence of an astonisht and admiring Multitude: I say, if such a One as this should prove a *Diabolical Impostor*, and Providence should permit him to be so credited and acknowledged; What possibility were there then for us to be assured, that we are not always *deceived*? yea, that our very Faculties were not given us only to delude and abuse us? And if so, the next Conclusion is, *That there is no God that judgeth in the earth*; and the best, and most likely *Hypothesis* will be, *That the world is given up to the Governement of the Devil*. But if there be a *Providence* that superviseth us, (as nothing is more certain) doubtless, it will never suffer poor helpless Creatures to be *inevitably deceived*, by the craft and subtilty of their *mischievous Enemy*, to their undoing; but will without question take such care, that the *works* wrought by *Divine Power* for the Confirmation of *Divine Truth*, shall have such *visible Marks* and *Signatures*, if not in their *Nature*, yet in their *Circumstances*, *Ends*, and *Designs*, as shall discover whence they

they are, and sufficiently distinguish them from all Impostures and Delusions, And though wicked Spirits may perform some strange things that may excite wonder for a while, yet He hath, and will so provide, that they shall be baffled and discredited; as we know it was in the case of Moses and the Egyptian Magicians.

These things I count sufficient to be said to this last, and shrewdest Objection; Though some, I understand, except, that I have made it stranger, then the answer I have applyed. That I have urged the argument of unbelievers home, and represented it in it's full strength I suppose can be no matter of just reproof; For to triumph over the weakness of a Cause, and to overlook it's strength, is the trick of shallow, and interessed Disputers, and the worst way to defend a Good Cause, or confute a bad one. I have therefore all along urged the most cogent things I could think of, for the interest of the objectors, because I would not impose upon my Reader or my self; and the stronger I make their premises the more shall I weaken their conclusion, if I answer them; (which whether I have done, or not, I refer my self to the judgments of the ingenious, and considerate;) from whom

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I should be very glad to be informed in what particular points my Discourse is defective; *General Charges* are no *proofs*, nor are they easily *capable* of an answer. Yet, to the *mention'd exception* I say

That the *strength* of the *Objection* is not my *fault*, for the *reasons* alledg'd; and for the *supposed incompetency* of my return, I propose, that if the *circumstances* of the *Persons, Ends, and Issues* be the *best Notes of Distinction* between *true Miracles*, and *forgeries, Divine, and Diabolical ones*, I have then said *enough* to secure the *miracles* of our *Saviour*, and the *Holy men* of *Ancient times*. But if *these Objectors* think, they can give us any *better, or more infallible criteria*, I desire them to *weigh* what I have offer'd about *Miracles* in some of the following leaves, before they enter *that thought* among their *certainities*. And if their other *marks of difference* will hold, notwithstanding those *allegations*, I suppose the *inquisitive believing world* would be glad to *know* them; and I shall have *particular obligations* to the *discoverer*, for the *strength* with which he will thereby assist my *Answer*.

But till I see *that*, I can say nothing *further*; or if I saw it, which I shall not

in hast expect, I should not be convinced but that the *circumstances of difference* which I have noted, are abundantly *sufficient* to *disarme* the *objection*; and to shew, that though *Apparitions, Witchcraft, and Diabolical wonders* are admitted: yet none of *these*, can fasten any *slurre*, or ground of *dangerous doubt* upon the *miraculous* performances of the *H. JESUS* and his *Apostles*. If the *dissatisfied* can shew it, I shall yield myself an humble *profelyte* to their *Reasons*; but till I know them, the *general suggestion* will not convince me.

NOW, besides what I have directly said to the main *Objection*, I have this to add to the *Objectors*, That I could wish they would take care of such *Suggestions*; which if they overthrow not the *Opinion* they oppose, will dangerously affront the Religion they would seem to acknowledge. For he that saith, *That if there are WITCHES there is no way to prove that Christ Jesus was not a Magician, and Diabolical Impostor* puts a deadly *Weapon* into the hands of the *Infidel*, and is himself next door to the *SIN AGAINST THE HOLY GHOST*: which, in order to the *persuading* great *tenderness* and *caution* in such matters, give this short account.

SECT. XV

THE SIN against the *Holy Ghost* is said to be *Unpardonable*; by which *sad* Attribute, and the Discourse of our *Saviour*, *Mat. XII.* from the *xxii.* to the *xxxiii.* verse, we may understand its Nature. In order to which we consider, That since the *Mercies* of God, and the *Merits* of his *Son*, are *infinite*, there is nothing can make a Sin *unpardonable*, but what makes it *incurable*; and there is no Sin but what is curable by a *strong Faith*, and a *vigorous Endeavour*: For all things are possible to him that believeth. So that, That which makes a Sin *incurable*, must be somewhat that makes *Faith impossible*, and obstructs all means of Conviction. In order to the finding which, we must consider the wayes and methods the Divine Goodness hath taken, for the begetting *Faith*, and cure of *Infidelity*: which is attempted, first, by the Prophets, and holy men of antient times, who, by the excellency of their *Doctrine*, the greatness of their *Miracles*, and the holiness of their *Lives*, endeavoured the conviction and reformation of a stubborn and unbelieving World.

But though *Few* believed their report, and men would not be prevail'd on by what they *did*, or what they *said*; yet their *Infidelity* was not hitherto *incurable*, because further *means* were provided in the *Ministry* of *John* the *Baptist*, whose *Life* was more *severe*, whose *Doctrines* were more plain, pressing and particular: and therefore 'twas possible that He might have succeeded. Yea, and where He failed, and could not open mens hearts and their eyes, the Effect was still in *possibility*, and it might be expected from *Him* that came after, to whom the *Prophets* and *John* were but the *Twilight* and the *Dawn*. And though *His* *miraculous Birth*, the *Song* of *Angels*, the *Journey* of the *Wise Men* of the *East*, and the *correspondence* of *Prophecies*, with the *Circumstances* of the *first appearance* of the *wonderful Infant*: I say, though these had not been taken notice of, yet was there a further provision made for the *cure* of *Infidelity*, in his *astonishing wisdom*, and most *excellent Doctrines*; For, He *spoke* as never *Man* *did*. And when *These* were despised and neglected, yet there were other *means* towards *Conviction*, and *Cure* of *Unbelief*, in those mighty *works* that bore *Testimony* of *Him*.

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Him, and wore the evident marks of *Divine Power* in their foreheads. But when after all, These *clear* and *unquestionable Miracles* which were wrought by the *Spirit of God*, and had eminently his *Superscription* on them, shall be ascribed to the *Agency of evil Spirits*, and *Diabolical Compact*, as they were by the *malicious* and *spightful Pharisees* in the *periods* above-mentioned; when Those *great* and *last Testimonies* against *Infidelity*, shall be said to be but the *Tricks of Sorcery*, and *Complotment* with *Hellish Confederates*, This is *Blasphemy* in the highest, against the *Power and Spirit of God*, and *such as cuts off all means of Conviction*, and puts the *Unbeliever* beyond all *possibilities of Cure*. For *Miracles* are *God's Seal*, and the great and last evidence of the truth of any *Doctrine*. And though, while *these* are only dis-believed as to the *Fact*, there remains a *possibility of persuasion*; yet, when the *Fact* shall be acknowledged, but the *Power blasphemed*, and the effects of the adorable *Spirit maliciously imputed* to the *Devils*; such a *Blasphemy*, such an *Infidelity* is *incurable*, and consequently *unpardonable*. I say, in summe, the *Sin* against the *Holy Ghost* seems to be a *malicious im-*

Putation of the *Miracles* wrought by the *Spirit* of God in our Saviour to *Satanical Confederacy*, and the power of *Apostate Spirits*; Then which, nothing is more *blasphemous*, and nothing is more like to provoke the *Holy Spirit* that is so abused to an *Eternal Dereliction* of so *Vile* and so *Incurable* an *Unbeliever*.

THIS account, as 'tis clear and reasonable in it self, so it is plainly lodg'd in the mention'd Discourse of our Saviour. And most of those that speak other things about it, seem to me to talk at random, and perfectly without Book. But to leave them to the fondness of their own conceits, I think it now time to draw up to a Conclusion of the whole.

SECT. XVI.

THEREFORE briefly, Sir, I have endeavoured in these Papers, which my respect and your concernment in the subject have made *yours*, to remove the main prejudices I could think of, against the existence of *Witches* and *Apparitions*: and I'm sure I have suggested much more
against

against what I defend, than ever I heard
or saw in any that opposed it ; whose
Discourses, for the most part, have seemed
to me inspired by a *lofty scorn* of *common*
belief, and some *trivial Notions* of *Vulgar*
Philosophy. And in despising the *Common*
Faith about matters of *Fact*, and fondly
adhering to it in things of *Speculation*, they
very grossly and absurdly mistake : For in
things of *Fact*, the *People* are as much to
be believ'd, as the most *subtile Philosophers*
and *Speculators* ; since here, *Sense* is the
Judge. But in matters of *Notions* and
Theory, *They* are not at all to be heeded,
because *Reason* is to be Judge of *these*, and
this they know not how to use. And yet
thus it is with those *wise Philosophers*, that
will deny the *plain* evidence of the *Senses*
of Mankind, because they cannot reconcile
appearances with the fond *Crotchets* of a
Philosophy, which they lighted on in the
High-way by *chance*, and will adhere to at
adventure. So that I profess, for mine own
part, I never yet heard any of the confident
Declaimers against *Witchcraft* and *Appari-*
tions, speak any thing that might move
a mind, in any degree instructed in the
generous kinds of *Philosophy*, and *Nature*
of *things*. And for the *Objections* I have

recited, they are most of them such as rose out of mine own thoughts, which I obliged to consider what was possible to be said upon this *occasion*.

For though I have examined *SCOT'S DISCOVERY*, fancying that there I should find the *strong reasons* of mens dis-belief in this matter; yet I profess I met not with the least suggestion in all that *Farrago*, but what it had been ridiculous for me to have gone about to *answer*: For the Author doth little but tell *odd Tales*, and *silly Legends*, which he confutes and laughs at, and pretends *this* to be a *Confutation* of the Being of *Witches* and *Apparitions*. In all which, His *Reasonings* are *trifling* and *Childish*; and when He ventures at *Philosophy*, He is little better than *absurd*: So that 'twill be a wonder to me, if any but *Boyes* and *Buffoons* imbibe any *Prejudices* against a Belief so infinitely Confirmed, from the *Loose* and *Impotent Suggestions* of so weak a Discourser.

But however observing two things, in that *Discourse* that would pretend to be more then ordinary *Reasons*, I shall do them the civility to examine them. It is said then,

swad I have seen
bom...

(1.) That

(1.) **T**Hat the *Gospel* is *silent*, as to the *being* of *WITCHES*; and 'tis not likely, if there were *such*, but that our *Saviour* or his *Apostles* had given intimations of their existence. The other is,

(2.) **M**iracles are *ceased*, and therefore the *prodigious* things ascribed to **witchcraft** are supposed *Dreams* and *Impostures*.

FOR ANSWER to the FIRST in order, I consider (1.) That though the *History* of the *New Testament* were granted to be *silent* in the *Business* of *Witches* and *Compacts*, yet the *Records* of the *Old* have a frequent mention of them. The *Law*, *Exod.* XXII. xviii. against permitting *them* to live (which I mention'd in the beginning) is *famous*. And we have another remarkable *prohibition* of *them*, *Deut.* XVIII. x, xi. *There shall not be found among you any one, that maketh his son or his daughter pass through the Fire, or that useth Divination, or an Observer of Times, or an Enchanter, or a WITCH, or a Charmer, or a Consulter with Familiar Spirits, or a Wizard, or a Necromancer.* Now this accumulation of Names, (some of which
are

are of the same sense and import) is a plain indication that the *HEBREW WITCH* was one that practiced by compact with evil spirits. And many of the same expressions are put together in the charge against *Manasses*. II Chron. XXXIII. viz. That he caused his Children to pass through the Fire, observed Times, used Inchantments, and **Witchcraft**, and dealt with Familiar Spirits, and with *WIZARDS*. So that though the original word which we render *WITCH* and *WITCHCRAFT* should, as our Seducers urge, signifie only a *CHEAT* and a *POYSONER*; yet those others mention'd, plainly enough speak the thing, and I have given an account in the former *Considerations*, how a *WITCH* in the common notion is a *Poysoner*. But why meer *poysoning* should have a distinct Law against it, and not be concluded under the general one against *Murder*; why meer *Legerdemain*, and *Cheating* should be so severely animadverted on, as to be reckon'd with *Inchantments*, converse with *Devils*, and *Idolatrous practices*: I believe the *denyer* of *WITCHES* will find it hard to give a reason. To which I may add some other passages of Scripture that yield sufficient evidence in the case. The Nations are forbid to hearken to the

Diviners,

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Diviners, Dreamers, Inchanters, and Sorcerers, Jer. XXVII. ix. The Chaldaans are deeply threatned for their Sorceries, and Inchantments, Isa. XLVII. ix. And we read that Nebuchadnezzar call'd the Magicians, Astrologers, Sorcerers, and Chaldaans, to tell his Dream. [My mention of which last, minds me to say, that for ought I have to the contrary, there may be a sort of **witches** and **Magicians** that have no Familiars, that they know, nor any express compact with Apostate Spirits; who yet may perhaps act strange things by Diabolick aids, which they procure by the use of those forms, and wicked Arts that the Devil did first impart to his Confederates: and we know not but the Laws of that Dark Kingdom may injoyn a particular attendance upon all those that practice their Mysteries, whether they know them to be theirs, or not. For a great interest of their Empire may be served by this project, since those that find such success in the unknown Conjurations, may by that be toll'd on to more express transactions with those Fiends, that have assisted them incognito: Or, if they proceed not so far, yet they run upon a rock by acting in the dark, and dealing in unknown, and unwarranted Arts, in which

which the *effect* is much beyond the *proper efficiency* of the things they use, and affords ground of more then suspicion that some *evil Spirit* is the *Agent* in those *wondrous* performances.

Upon this account I say, it is not to me unlikely but that the *Devils* may by their own *Constitution* be bound to attend upon all that use their *ceremonies*, and *Forms*, though *ignorantly*, and without *design* of *Evil*; and so *Conjuration* may have been performed by those who are none of the *Covenant-Sorcerers* and *Witches*. Among those perhaps we may justly reckon *Balaam*, and the *Diviners*. For *Balaam*, *Moncaus* hath undertaken to clear him from the *guile* of the *greater Sorcery*. And the *Diviners* are usually *distinctly* mentioned from those that had *familiar Spirits*. The *Astrologers* also of *Elder* times, and those of *ours*, I take to have been of this sort of *Magicians*, and some of them under the colour of that *Mystical Science*, worse. And I question not, but that things are really *done*, and *foretold* by those *pretended Artists*, that are much beyond the *regular possibilities* of their *Art*; which in *this* appears to be exceedingly *uncertain*, and *precarious*, in that there are no less then *six* wayes of erecting a
Scheme,

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Scheme, in each of which the *prediction* of *Events* shall be *different*, and yet every one of them be justifiable by the *rules* of that *Science*. And the *Principles* they go upon, are found to be very *arbitrary*, and *unphilosophical*, not by the *ordinary Declaimers* against it, but by the most *profound inquirers* into things, who perfectly *understand* the whole *Mystery*, and are the only *competent Judges*.

Now those *Mystical Students* may in their first addresses to this *Science*, have no other design, but the satisfaction of their *Curiosity* to know *remote*, and *hidden* things, Yet *that* in the progress being not satisfied within the bounds of their *Art*, doth many times tempt the *Curious* Inquirer to use *worse* means of *Information*; and no doubt those *mischievous* Spirits that are as *vigilant* as the *Beasts* of *prey*, and watch all occasions to get us within their *envious reach*, are more *constant* attenders, and *careful* Spyes upon the actions, and inclinations of such, whose *genius*, and *designes* prepare them for their *Temptations*. So that I look on **Judicial Astrology** as a fair introduction to *Sorcery*, and *Witchcraft*. And who knows but that it was first set on foot by the *Infernal Hunters*, as a lure to draw the *Curioso's* into those
snarcs

snare that lye hid beyond it. And yet, I believe also, It may be *innocently* enough studied by those, that aime only to understand *what it is*, and *how far* it will *honestly* go; and are not willing to condemn any thing which they do not comprehend. But that They must take care to keep themselves within the bounds of *sober* enquiry, and not indulge *irregular sollicitudes* about the Knowledge of things which *providence* hath thought fit to *conceale* from us; Which who ever doth, layes himself open to the designs, and sollicitations of *Evil Spirits*, and I believe there are very few among those who have been addicted to those *Strange Arts* of *wonder*, and *prediction*, but have found themselves attacqued by some *unknown sollicitours*, and inticed by them to the more *dangerous Actions*, and *Correspondencies*. For as there are a sort of *base*, and *sordid Spirits* that attend the *envy*, and *malice* of the *ignorant*, and *viler* sort of persons, and betray them into *Compacts* by *promises* of *Revenge*; So, no doubt, there are a kind of more *airy*, and *Speculative Fiends*, of an *higher rank*, and order then those *wretched Imps*, who apply themselves to the *Curious*; and many times prevail with them by *offers* of the more *recondite knowledge*

ledge. As we know it was in the *first temptation*. Yea, and sometimes they are so *cautious*, and *wary* in their *Conversations* with more *refined* persons, that they never offer to make any *express covenants* with them. And to this purpose I have been informed by a very learned, and Reverend Dr. that one M. *Edwards* a Master of Arts of *Trin. Coll.* in *Cambridge* being reclaimed from *Conjuration*, declared in his *Repentance*, that the *Demon* alwayes appeared to him like a man of good fashion, and never required any *Compact* from him. And no doubt, They sort themselves agreeably to the *state*, *port*, and *genius* of those with whom they *Converse*; Yea, 'tis like, as I conjectured, are *assistent* sometimes to those, to whom they dare not shew themselves in any *openness* of *appearance*, least they should *fright* them from those wayes of *Sin*, and *Temptation*. So that we see, that Men may act by *evil spirits* without their own knowledge that they do so.

And possibly *Nebuchadnezzar's wisemen* might be of this sort of *Magicians*; which supposal I mention the rather because it may serve me against some things that may be objected: For, it may be said, If *They* had been in *Confederacy* with *Devils*, it is
not

→ not probable, that *Daniel* would have been
 their *Advocate*, or in such *inoffensive termes*
 have distinguisht their *skill*, from *Divine*
Revelation; nor should *He*, one would
 think, have accepted the office of being
Trovoſt over *them*. These Circumstances
 may be ſuppoſ'd to intimate a probability,
 that the *Magi* of *Babylon* were in no *profeſt*
Diabolical Complotment, and I grant it. But
 yet they *might*, and in all likelyhood *did* uſe
 the *Arts*, and *Methods* of *action*, which ob-
 tain *Demonaiſick Cooperation*, and *aſſiſtance*,
 though without their *privity*, and ſo they
 were a leſs *Criminal* ſort of *Conjurers*; For
 thoſe *arts* were convey'd down along to
Them from one hand to another, and the ſuc-
 ceſſours ſtill took them up from thoſe that
 preceded without a *Philoſophical Scrutiny*,
 or *Examen*. They ſaw, ſtrange things were
done, and Events predicted by ſuch *forms*,
 and ſuch *words*; *How*, they could not tell,
 nor 'tis like, did not *inquire*, but contented
 themſelves with this *general* account, that
 'twas by the *power* of their *Arts*, and were
 not *ſollicitous* for any *better* reaſon. This I
 ſay was probably the caſe of moſt of *theſe*
Predictors, though, it may be, others of
 them advanced further into the more deſe-
 perate part of the *Mystery*. And that *ſome*
 did

did *immediately transact* with appearing evil Spirits in those times, is apparent enough from expresse mention in the *Scriptures* I have alledg'd.

And the story of the *WITCH* of *ENDOR*, 1 Sam. XXVIII. is a remarkable demonstration of the main conclusion; which will appear when we have considered, and removed the *fancy*, and *glosses* of our *Author* about it, in his *DISCOVERY*: where to avoid this evidence, he affirms, *This WITCH* to be but a *Cozener*, and the whole transaction a *Cheat* and *Imposture*, managed by her self, and a *Confederate*. And in order to the perswading this, he tells a fine *Tale*, viz. That she departed from *Saul* into her closet, "Where doubtless, sayes he, she had a *Familiar*, some lewd crafty *Priest*, and made *Saul* stand at the *Door* like a *Fool*, to hear the *Cozening* Answers. He saith, she there used the ordinary words of *Conjur-ation*; and after them, *Samuel* appears, whom he affirms to be no other than either the *Witch* her self, or her *Confederate*. By this pretty *knack* and *contrivance* he thinks he hath disabled the *Relation* from signifying to our purpose.

But the *DISCOVERER* might have consider'd, that all this is an *Invention*, and

H

without

without Book. For there is no mention of the *Witches Closet*, or her *retiring* into another Room, or her *Confederate*, or her *Form of Conjurat*ion: I say nothing of all this, is as much as intimated in the *History*; and if we may take this *large liberty* in the *interpretation of Scripture*, there is scarce a *story* in the *Bible*, but may be made a *Fallacy*, and *Imposture*, or any thing that we please. Nor is this fancy of his only *arbitrary*, but indeed contrary to the *circumstances* of the *Text*. For it sayes, *Saul perceived it was Samuel*, and *bowed himself*, and *this Samuel truly* foretold his approaching *Fate*, viz. that *Israel* should be deliver'd with *Him* into the hands of the *Philistines*; and that on the morrow *He*, and his *Sons* should be in the *state of the Dead*, which doubtless is meant by the expression, that [*they should be with Him*] Which *contingent* particulars, how could the *Cozener* and her *confederate* foretell, if there were nothing in it *extraordinary* and *preternatural*?

It hath indeed been a great dispute among *Interpreters*, whether the *real Samuel* was *raised*, or the *Devil* in his likeness? Most later *Writers* suppose it to have been an *evil Spirit*, upon the supposition that *good* and *happy* souls can never return hither from

from their *Cælestial* abodes; and they are not certainly at the beck, and call of an impious Hagg. But then those of the other side urge, that the *Piety* of the words that were spoke, and the *seasonable reproof* given to *despairing Saul*, are *indications* sufficient that they come not from Hell; and especially they think the *Prophecie* of *circumstances* very *accidental* to be an argument, that it was not utter'd by any of the *infernal Predictors*. And for the *supposal* that is the ground of *that interpretation*, 'tis judged exceedingly *precarious*; for *who saith* that *happy departed souls* were never employed in any *ministeries* here below? And those dissenters are ready to ask a reason, why *they* may not be sent in messages to *Earth*, as well as *those* of the *Angelical Order*? They are nearer *allied* to our *Natures*, and upon that account more *intimately concern'd* in our affairs; and the example of *returning Lazarus* is evidence of the thing *de facto*. Besides which, that it was the *real Samuel* they think made probable by the opinion of *Jesus Syrac*, Eccles. XLVI. xix, xx. who saith of him, That *after his death he prophesied and shewed the King his end*: which also is *likely* from the circumstance of the *womans astonishment*, and *crying out* when

She saw him, intimating her *surprize*, in that the power of God had over-ruled her *Inchantments*, and sent another than she expected. And they conceive there is no more incongruity in supposing God should send *Samuel* to rebuke *Saul* for this his last folly, and to predict his instant ruine, than in his interposing *Elias* to the messengers of *Ahazias* when he sent to *Beelzebub*. Now if it were the *real Samuel*, as the Letter expresseth, (and the obvious sense is to be followed when there is no cogent reason to decline it) he was not *raised* by the power of the *Witches Inchantments*, but came on that occasion in a *Divine Errand*. But yet attempts and endeavours to raise her *Familiar Spirit* (though at that time over-ruled) are arguments that it had been her custom to do so. Or if it were as the other side concludes, the *Devil* in the *shape* of *Samuel*, her *Diabolical Confederacy* is yet more palpable.

S E C T. XVIII.

I Have now done with SCOT, and his *presumptions*; and am apt to phancy, that

that there is nothing more needful to be said to *Discover* the *Discoverer*. But there is an *Author* infinitely more valuable, that calls me to consider him, 'Tis the great *Episcopus*, who, though he grants a sort of *Witches*, and *Magicians*, yet denies *Compacts*. His *Authority*, I confess is *considerable*, but let us weigh his *Reasons*.

His *First* is, That there is no *example* of any of the *prophane Nations* that were in such *Compact*; whence he would *infer*, that there are no *express Covenants* with *evil Spirits* in *particular Instances*. But I think that both *proposition*, and *consequence* are very *obnoxious*, and *defective*. For that there were *Nations* that did actually *worship* the *Devil* is plain enough in the records of *antient times*, and some so read that place in the *Psalms*, *The Gods of the Heathen are Devils*; and *Sathan* we know is call'd the *God of this world*. Yea, our *Author* himself confesseth that the *Nation of the Jewes*, were so strictly prohibited *witchcraft*, and all *transaction* with *evil spirits*; because of their *proneness* to *worship* them. But what need more? There are at *this Day* that pay *sacrifice*, and all *sacred homage* to the *wicked One* in a *visible* appearance; and 'tis well known to those of our *own* that *traffick*,

and reside in *those* parts, that the *Caribbians* worship the *Devil* under the name of *Maboya*, who frequently shews himself, and transacts with them; the like Travellers relate concerning divers other parts of the *barbarous Indies*: and 'tis confidently reported by sober intelligent men that have visited those places, that most of the *Laplanders*, and some other *Northern* people are *Witches*. That 'tis plain that there are *National Confederacies* with *Devils*; or, if there were *none*, I see^{not} how it could be infer'd *thence*, that there are no *personal* ones, no more, then that there were never any *Demoniacks*, because we know of no *Nation* *universally* possessed; nor any *Lunaticks* in the world, because there is no *Country* of *Madmen*. But our Authour reasons again.

(2) To this purpose; That the *profligate* persons who are *obnoxious* to those gross *temptations*, are fast enough *before*; and therefore such a *Covenant* were *needless*, and of no *avail* to the *Tempters* *Projects*.

This *Objection* I have answered already, in my *Remarques* upon the IX *Prejudice*, and mind you again here, that if the *Designs* of those *evil* Spirits were only in *general* to
secure

secure wicked men to the *Dark Kingdom*, it might better be pretended that we cannot give a *reason* for their *temptations*, and *indeavour*s in this kind ; But it being likely, as I have conjectur'd, that each of those *infernal* Tempters hath a *particular property* in those he hath *seduced*, and *secured* by such *compact*s, their respective *pride* and *tyrannical* desire of *slaves*, may reasonably be thought to ingage them in such Attempts in which their so peculiar interest is concerned.

But I add what is more *direct*, viz. That such *desperate* Sinners are made more safe to the *infernal* Kingdom at large, by such *Hellish Covenants* and *Combinations* ; since thereby they *Confirm*, and *harden* their *hearts* against God, and put themselves at greater distance from his *Grace*, and his *Spirit* ; give the *deepest wound* to Conscience, and resolve to *wink* against all it's *light* and *convictions* ; throw a *bar* in the way of their own *repentance*, and lay a *train* for *Despair* of *mercy*. These certainly are *sure* wayes of *being undone*, and the *Devil* we see, hath *great interest* in a *project*, the success of which is so *attended*. And we know he made the assault *de facto* upon our *Saviour*, when he tempted him to *fall down*, and *worship*.

So that this learned Author hath but little reason to object

And so -
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there was
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(3) That to endeavour such an express *Covenant* is contrary to the *interests* of *Hell*; which indeed are *this* way so mightily promoted. And whereas he suggests, that a thing so *horrid* is like to *startle* conscience, and *awaken* the Soul to *Consideration*, and *repentance*; I *Reply*, that indeed considering *man* in the *general*, as a *rational* Creature, acted by *hopes*, and *feares*, and *sensible* of the *joyes* and *miseries* of another world, one would expect it *should be so*: But then, if we cast our eyes upon *man* as *really he is*, sunk into *flesh*, and *present sense*; darkned in his *mind*, and *governed* by his *imagination*; blinded by his *passions*, and *besotted* by *sin*, and *folly*; hardened by *evil Customes*, and hurried away by the *torrent* of his *inclinations*, and *desires*; I say, looking on *man* in this *miserable state of Evil*, 'tis not *incredible* that he should be prevailed upon by the *Tempter*, and his own *Lusts* to act at a *wonderful rate of madness*, and continue *unconcerned*, and *stupid* in it; *intent* upon his *present satisfactions*, without *sense* or *consideration* of the *dreadfulness*, and *danger* of his *Condition*;* and by *this*, I am furnished also to meet a *Fourth Objection* of our *Author's*. viz.

(4) That

for a apostatized Man to fall from Bad to Worse.

(4.) That 'tis not *probable* upon the *witches* part, that *they* will be so desperate to renounce *God*, and *eternal* happiness, and so, *everlastingly* undo their *bodies*, and *souls*, for a *short* and *trivial* interest; which way of *arguing* will only infer, that mankind *acts* sometimes, to *prodigious* degrees of *brutishness*; and *actually* we see it in the *instances* of every day. There is not a *Lust* so *base*, and so *contemptible*, but there are those continually, in our eyes, that feed it with the *sacrifice* of their *eternity*, and their *souls*; and *daring* Sinners rush upon the *blackest* villanies with so little *remorse*, or *sense*, as if it were their *design* to prove, that they have nothing left them of *that* whereby they are *men*. So that nought can be inferr'd from this Argument, but that *humane* nature is *incredibly* degenerate; and the *vileness*, and *stupidity* of men is *really* so great, that things are *Customary*, and *common* which one could not think *possible*, if he did not hourly see them. And if men of *liberal* Education, and *acute* Reason, that know their *Duty*, and their *danger*, are driven by their *appetites*, with their eyes open, upon the most *fatal* Rocks, and make all the haste they can from their *God*, and their *happiness*; If such can barter their *souls* for *trifles*, and sell *everlasting* for

for a *moment*, sport upon the *brink* of a *precipice*, and *contemn* all the *terroures* of the future *dreadful* day; why should it then be *incredible* that a *brutish*, *vile* person, *sotted* with *Ignorance*, and *drunk* with *malice*, *mindless* of *God*, and *unconcerned* about a *future Being*, should be *perswaded* to accept of *present*, *delightful* *gratifications*, without *duly* weighing the *desperate Condition*?

Thus, I suppose, I have *answered* also the *Arguments* of this *great man*, against the *Covenants* of *Witches*; and since a person of such *sagacity* and *learning*, hath *no more* to say against what I defend, and another of the *same* Character, the ingenious M. S. Parker, who directed me to him, reckons *these* the strongest things that can be *objected* in the Case, I begin to arrive to an *higher degree* of *confidence* in this belief; and am almost inclined to *phancy*, that there is *little more* to be said to purpose, which may not by the *improvement* of my CONSIDERATIONS be easily answered; and I am yet the more fortified in my conceit, because I have since the former *Edition* of this book, sent to severall *acute*, and ingenious persons of my acquaintance, to beg their *Objections*, or *those* they have heard from others, against my *Discourse* or *Relations* that

that I might consider them in *this*: But I can procure *none* save onely those *few* I have now discuss'd, Most of my Friends telling me, that they have not met with *any*, that *need*, or *deserve* my notice.

S E C T. XIX.

BY all this it is evident, that there were *WITCHES* in ancient times under the *Dispensation* of the *LAW*; and that there were such in the *Times* of the *GOSPEL* also, will not be much more difficult to make good. I had a late occasion to say something about this, in a Letter to a person of the highest honour, from which I shall now borrow some things to my present purpose.

I SAY then (II.) That there were *compact*s with *evil Spirits* in *those times* also, is methinks intimated strongly in that saying of the *Jews* concerning our *Saviour*, *That he cast out Devils by Beelzebub*. In his return to which, he denies not the *supposition* or *possibility* of the *thing* in general; but clears himself by an appeal to the actions of their own

own children, whom they would not tax so severely. And I cannot very well understand why those times should be priviledg'd from *WITCHCRAFT*, and *Diabolical Compacts*, more than they were from *Possessions*, which we know were then more frequent (for ought appears to the contrary) than ever they were *before* or *since*. But besides this, There are intimations plain enough in the *Apostles* Writings of the being of *Sorcery* and *WITCHCRAFT*. St. Paul reckons *Witchcraft* next *Idolatry*, in his *Catalogue* of the *works* of the *flesh*, Gal. V. xx. and the *Sorcerers* are again joyn'd with *Idolaters* in that *sad Denunciation*, Rev. XXI. viii. and a little after, Rev. XXII. xv. They are reckon'd again among *Idolaters*, *Murderers*, and *those* others that are *without*. And methinks the story of *Simon Magus*, and his *Diabolical Oppositions* of the *Gospel* in its *beginnings*, should afford clear conviction. To all which, I add this more general consideration.

(3.) That though the *New Testament* had mention'd nothing of this matter, yet its *silence* in such cases is not *argumentative*. Our Saviour *spake* as he had occasion, and the thousandth part of what he *did*, and *said*, is not recorded, as one of his *Historians* intimates

intimates. He said nothing of those large unknown *Tracts* of *America*, nor gave he any intimations of as much as the *Existence* of that *numerous* people; much less did he leave *instructions* about their *conversion*. He gives no account of the *affairs* and *state* of the *other world*, but only that *general one* of the *happiness* of some and the *misery* of others. He made no discovery of the *Magnalia* of *Art*, or *Nature*; no, not of those, whereby the *propagation* of the *Gospel* might have been much *advanced*, viz. the *Mystery* of *Printing*, and the *Magnet*; and yet no one useth his *silence* in these instances as an argument against the being of things, which are *evident objects* of *sense*. I confess, the omission of some of these *particulars* is pretty strange, and unaccountable, and concludes our *ignorance* of the *reasons*, and *menages* of *Providence*; but I suppose, *nothing else*. I thought, I needed here to have said no more, but I consider, In consequence of this *objection*, it is *pretended*; That as *CHRIST JESUS*, drive the *Devil* from his *Temples*, and his *Altars* (as is clear in the *Cessation* of *Oracles*, which *dwindled* away, and at last grew *silent* shortly upon his appearance) so in like manner, 'tis said, that he *banisht Him* from his

his *lesser holds* in *Sorcerers*, and *Witches*; which *argument* is *peccant* both in what it *affirms*, and in what it would *infer*. For

(1.) The coming of the *H. JESUS* did not expell the *Devil* from all the *greater places* of his *residence*, and *worship*; for a considerable part of *barbarous Mankind* do him *publique, solemn homage*, to this day: So that the very *foundation* of the *pretence* fails, and the *Consequence* without any more adoe comes to nothing. And yet besides,

(2) If there be any *Credit* to be given to *Ecclesiastick History*, there were persons possessed with *Devils* some Ages after *Christ*, whom the *Disciples* cast out by *prayer*, and the *invocation* of his *name*: So that *Sathan* was not driven from his *lesser habitations*, as soon as he was forced from his more *famous abodes*. And I see no reason

(3) *why*, Though *Divine providence* would not allow him *publickely* to abuse the *Nations*, whom he had designed in a short time after, for subjects of his *Son's Kingdom*, and to stand up in the face of *Religion* in an *open affront* to the *Divinity* that *planted* it, to the great *hinderance* of the *progress* of the *Gospel*, and discouragement of *Christian hopes*; I say, Though *providence* would not allow this height of insolent opposition;
yet

yet I see not why we may not grant, that God however permitted the Devil to *sneak* into some *private skulking holes*, and to *trade* with the *particular* more *devoted vassals* of his *wicked Empire*: As we know that when our *Saviour* had chased him from the man that was *possessed*, he permitted his *retreat* into the *herd of Swine*. And I might add

(4) That 'tis but a *bad* way of arguing, to set up *phancyed congruities* against *plain experience*, as is evidently done by those *arguers*, who, because they think that *Christ* chased the Devil from all his *high places* of *worship* when he came; that 'tis therefore *fit* he should have forced him from all his other less *notorious Haunts*: and upon the *imagination* of a *decency*, which they frame, *conclude a fact*, contrary to the greatest evidence of which the thing is capable. And once more

(5) The consequence of this *imagined Decorum*, if it be pursued, would be *this*, that *Sathan* should now be deprived of all the *wayes*, and *tricks* of *Cozenage*, whereby he abuseth us; and *mankind* since the coming of *Christ*, should have been secure from all his *Temptations*; for there is a greater *Congruity* in believing, that, when he was forced

forced from his *haunts* in *Temples* and *public* places, he should be put also from those *nearer* ones, *about* us and *within* us in his daily *temptations* of *universal* Mankind; Then, that upon relinquishing *those*, he should be made to leave all profest *communication* and *correspondence* with those *profligate* persons, whose *vileness* had *fitted* them for such *Company*.

So that, *these* *Reasoners* are very *Fair* for the *denial* of all *internal* *Diabolical* *Temptations*. And because I durst not trust them, I'll crave your leave here to add somethings concerning *those*.

In order to which, that I may obtain the favour of those *many* persons, who are so *coy*, and *shy* of their *assent*, I grant; That men frequently out of a desire to *excuse themselves*, lay their *own* guilt upon the *Devil*, and charge *him* with things of which in earnest he is not *guilty*: For, I doubt not but every *wicked* man hath *Devil* enough in his *own* *nature* to prompt him to *Evil*, and needs not *another* *Tempter* to incite him. But yet, that *Sathan* endeavours to further our *wickedness*, and our *ruin* by his *enticements*, and goes up and down, seeking whom he may *devour*, is too evident in the *holy* *Oracles*, to need my endeavours particularly to
make

make it good ; Only those *diffident* men cannot perhaps apprehend the *manner* of the *operation*, and from thence are *tempted* to *believe* , that there is really no such thing. Therefore I judge it requisite to explain *this*, and 'tis not unfutable to my *general* subject.

In order to it I consider , That *sense* is *primarily* caused by *motion* in the *organs*, which by *continuity* is *conveyed* to the *brain*, where *sensation* is *immediately* performed ; and It is *nothing* else, but a *notice* excited in the *soul* by the *impulse* of an *external* object. Thus it is in *simple*, *outward* *sense*. But *imagination*, though caused *immediately* by *material* *motion* also, yet it differs from the *external* *senses* in *this*, That 'tis not from an *impress* *directly* from *without*, but the *prime*, and *original* *motion* is from *within* our *selves*: Thus the *soul* it self sometimes strikes upon those *strings*, whose motion begets such, and such *phantasmes* ; otherwhile, the *loose* *spirits* wandering up and down in the *brain*, *casually* hit upon such *filements* and *stringes* whose *motion* excites a *conception*, which we call a *phawcy*, or *imagination* ; and if the *evidence* of the *outward* *senses* be shut out by *sleep* or *melancholly*, in either case , we *believe*

I those

those representations to be real and external transactions, when they are only within our heads; Thus it is in *Enthusiasms*, and *Dreams*. And besides these causes of the motions which stir imagination, there is little doubt, but that *Spirits* good, or bad can so move the instruments of sense in the brain as to awake such imaginations, as they have a mind to excite; and the imagination having a mighty influence upon the affections, and they upon the will, and external actions, 'tis very easie to conceive how *Good Angels* may stir us up to Religion, and virtue, and the *Evil ones* Tempt us to Lewdness, and vice, viz. by representments that they make upon the stage of imagination, which invite our affections, and allure, though they cannot compel, our wills.

This I take to be an intelligible account of temptations, and also of Angelical encouragements; and perhaps this is the only way of immediate influence that the *Spirits* of the other world, have upon us. And by it, 'tis easie to give an account of *Dreams* both *Monitory*, and *Temperamental*, *Enthusiasms*, *Fanatick extasies* and the like, as I suggested.

Thus Sir, to the FIRST. But the other pretence also must be examined.

SECT. XX.

(2) **M**IRACLES are cease, therefore the presumed actions of *Witchcraft* are tales, and illusions.]

To make a due return to *this*, we must consider a great and difficult *Problem*, which is, *What is a real Miracle?* And for answer, to this weighty Question, I think,

(1.) **T**Hat it is not the *strangeness*, or *unaccountableness* of the thing done simply, from whence we are to conclude a *Miracle*. For then, we are so to account of all the *Magnalia* of *Nature*, and all the *Mysteries* of those *honest Arts*, which we do not understand.

Nor, (2) is this the *Criterion* of a *Miracle*, That it is an action or event beyond all *natural powers*; for we are ignorant of the *extent*, and *bounds* of *Natures sphere*, and *possibilities*: And if this were

the *character*, and *essentiall mark* of a *Miracle*, we could not know what was *so*; except we could determine the *extent* of *natural causalities*, and fix their *bounds*, and be able to say to *Nature*, *Hitherto canst Thou go, and no further*. And he that makes this his measure whereby to judge a *Miracle*, is himself the *greatest Miracle* of *knowledge*, or *immodesty*. Besides, though an effect may transcend *really* all the *powers* of *meer nature*; yet there is a *world* of *spirits* that must be taken into our account. And as to them also I say,

(3) Every thing is not a *Miracle* that is done by *Agents supernatural*. There is no doubt but that *Evil spirits* can make *wonderful combinations* of *natural causes*, and perhaps perform many things *immediately* which are *prodigious*, and beyond the *longest line* of *Nature*: but yet *These* are not therefore to be called *Miracles*; for, *THEY* are *SACRED WONDERS*, and suppose the *POWER* to be *DIVINE*. But how shall the power be *known* to be *so*, when we so little understand the *capacities*, and *extent* of the abilities of *lower Agents*? The Answer to this *Question* will discover the *Criterion* of *Miracles*, which must be supposed to have all the former particulars; (They are *unaccountable*,
beyond

beyond the powers of meer nature, and done by *Agents supernatural*) and to these must be superadded.

(4) That they have *peculiar circumstances* that speak them of a *Divine Original*. Their *mediate Authors* declare them to be so, and they are alwayes persons of *Simplicity, Truth, and Holiness*, void of *Ambition*, and all *secular Designs*. They seldom use *Ceremonies*, or *natural Applications*, and yet surmount all the *activities* of known nature. They work those wonders, not to raise *admiration*, or out of the *vanity* to be talk't of; but to seal and confirm some *divine Doctrine*, or *Commission*, in which the good, and happiness of the world is concern'd. I say, by such *circumstances* as these, wonderful actions are known to be from a *Divine cause*; and that makes, and distinguisheth a *Miracle*.

And thus I am prepared for an answer to the *Objection*, to which I make this brief return, That though *WITCHES* by their *Confederate Spirit* do those odd, and *astonishing* things we believe of them; yet are they no *Miracles*, there being evidence enough from the *badness* of their *lives*, and the *ridiculous Ceremonies* of their performances, from their *malice* and *mischievous designs*, that the *POWER* that works, and the end

for which those things are done, is not *Divine*, but *Diabolical*. And by *singular providence* they are not ordinarily permitted, as much as to *pretend* to any *new sacred Discoveries* in matters of *Religion*, or to act any thing for *confirmation* of *Doctrinal Impostures*. So that whether *Miracles* are *ceased*, or not, *these* are *none*. And that such *Miracles* as are only *strange*, and *unaccountable* performances, above the common *methods* of *art* or *nature*, are not *ceas'd*, we have a late great evidence in the famous *GREATRAK*; concerning whom it will not be impertinent to add the following *account* which I had in a *Letter* from the Reverend Dr. R. Dean of C. A person of great *veracity*, and a *Philosopher*. This learned Gentleman then is pleased thus to write.

“ **T**He great discourse now at the *Coffee-Houses*, and every where,
 “ is about M. G. the famous *Irish Stroker*,
 “ concerning whom it is like you expect an
 “ account from me. He undergoes various
 “ censures here, some take him to be a
 “ *Conjurer*, and some an *Impostor*, but others
 “ again adore him as an *Apostle*. I confess
 “ I think the man is free from all *design*,
 of

“ of a very agreeable conversation, not
 “ addicted to any *Vice*, nor to any *Sect*, or
 “ *Party*; but is, I believe, a *sincere Protestant*.
 “ I was three weeks together with him at
 “ my *Lord Conways*, and saw him, I think,
 “ lay his hands upon a thousand persons;
 “ and *really* there is some thing in it more
 “ than *ordinary*; but I am convinc’d it is not
 “ *miraculous*. I have seen *pains* strangely
 “ fly before his hand till he hath chased
 “ them out of the body, *dimness* cleared,
 “ and *deafness* cured by his *touch*; twenty
 “ persons at several times in *Fits* of the
 “ *Falling Sickness*, were in two or three
 “ minutes brought to themselves, so as to
 “ tell where their pain was, and then he
 “ hath pursued it till he hath driven it out
 “ at some extream part; *Running Sores*
 “ of the *Kings Evil* dryed up, and *Kernels*
 “ brought to a *Suppuration* by his hand;
 “ *grievous Sores* of many months date, in
 “ few dayes *healed*; *Obstructions*, and *Stoppings*
 “ *removed*, *Cancerous Knots* in the breast
 “ *dissolved*, &c.

“ But yet I have many reasons to
 “ perswade me, that nothing of all this
 “ is *miraculous*; He pretends not to give
 “ *Testimony* to any *Doctrine*, the manner of
 “ his *operation* speaks it to be *natural*, the

“cure seldom succeeds without *reiterated*
 “*touches*, his *Patients* often *relapse*, he *fails*
 “*frequently*, he can do nothing where
 “there is any *Decay* in nature, and *many*
 “*Distempers* are not at all obedient to his
 “*touch*. So that I confess, I refer all his virtue
 “to his *particular temper* and *complexion*, and
 “I take his *Spirits* to be a kind of *Elixir*,
 “and *universal Ferment*; and that he cures
 “(as Dr. M. expresseth it) by a *sanative*
 “*Contagion*.

This Sir, was the *First Account* of the
 Healer, I had from that Reverend Person,
 which with me signifies more, then the
attestations of multitudes of *ordinary Re-*
porters; and no doubt but it will do so
 likewise, with all that know that excellent
 mans singular *integrity* and *judgment*. But
 besides this, upon my inquiry into some other
 particulars about this matter, I received
 these further Informations.

“As for M. G. what opinion he hath of
 “his *own Gift*, and how he came to know
 “it? I answer, He hath a different appre-
 “hension of it from *yours*, and *mine*, and
 “certainly believing it to be an *immediate*
 “*Gift* from heaven; and 'tis no wonder,
 for

about *Witchcraft*. 109

“for he is *no Philosopher*. And you will
“wonder less, when you hear *how* he came
“to *know* it, as I have often received it
“from his own mouth. About three or
“four years ago he had a strong *impulse* upon
“his *spirit*, that continually pursued him,
“whatever he was about, at his *Business*, or
“*Devotion*, alone, or in *company*, that spake
“to him by this *inward suggestion* [*I have*
“*given thee the gift of curing the Evil.*]
“This *suggestion* was so *importunate*, that
“he complained to his Wife, That he
“thought he was haunted: She appre-
“hended it as an *extravagancy* of *Fancy*,
“but he told her he believed there was
“more in it, and was resolved to try. He
“did not long want opportunity. There
“was a neighbour of his grievously afflicted
“with the *Kings-Evil*, He stroked her,
“and the effect succeeded. And for about
“a twelve-month together he pretended to
“cure no other *Distemper*. But then the
“*Ague* being very rife in the Neighbour-
“hood, the same *Impulse* after the same
“manner spake within him, [*I have given*
“*thee the gift of curing the Ague;*] and
“meeting with persons in their *Fits*, and
“taking them by the hand, or laying his
“hand upon their Breasts, the *Ague* left
“them

" them. About half a year after the accu-
 " stomed *Impulse* became more *general*,
 " and suggested to him [*I have given thee*
 " *the gift of Healing* :] and then he at-
 " tempted all Diseases *indifferently*. And
 " though he saw strange effects, yet he
 " doubted whether the cause were any
 " vertue that came from him, or the peo-
 " ples fancy : To convince him of his in-
 " credulity, as he lay one night in bed, one
 " of his hands was struck *dead*, and the
 " usual *Impulse* suggested to him to make
 " tryal of his vertue upon himself, which
 " he did, stroking it with his other hand,
 " and then it immediately returned to its
 " former *liveliness*. This was repeated
 " two or three nights (or mornings) to-
 " gether.

" This is his *Relation*, and I believe
 " there is so much sincerity in the person,
 " that he tells no more than what he be-
 " lieves to be *true*. To say that this *Impulse*
 " too was but a *result* of his *temper*, and
 " that it is but like *Dreams* that are usually
 " according to mens *constitutions*, doth not
 " seem a *probable account* of the *Pheno-*
 " *menon*. Perhaps some may think it more
 " likely, that some *Genius* who understood
 " the *sanative vertue* of his *Complexion*,
 " and

about *Witchcraft.* iii

“and the *readiness* of his *minde*, and *ability* of his *body*, to put it in execution,
“might give him notice of *that* which o-
“therwise might have been for ever *un-*
“*known* to him, and so the *Gift* of *God* had
“been to no purpose.

This Sir, is my Learned and Reverend Friend's *Relation*, and I judge his *Reflections* as *ingenious*, as his *report* is *sincere*. I shall say no more about it but *this*, that many of those *matters* of *Fact*, have been since *critically inspected* and *examined* by several *sagacious* and *deep* searches of the ROYAL SOCIETY, whom we may suppose as unlikely to be deceived by a *contrived Imposture*, as any persons extant.

And now, Sir, 'tis fit that I relieve your patience; and I shall do so, when I have said, that *You* can abundantly *prove*, what I have thus attempted to *defend*: And that among the many *Obligations* your *Country* hath to you, for the *wisdom* and *Diligence* of your *Endeavours* in its service; your *Ingenious Industry* for the *Detecting* of those *Vile Practicers*, is not the least *considerable*. To which I will adde no more,
but

but the *Confession* who it is that hath given you all this trouble ; which I know you are ready to *pardon* , to the respect and good *Intentions* of

SIR;

Your Affectionate and Obligated

Honourer and Servant,

J. G.

PALPABLE EVIDENCE
OF
SPIRITS
AND
Witchcraft:

In an ACCOUNT of the *Fam'd*
Disturbance by the
DRUMMER,
In the House of
M. MOMPESSEON.

With
Another *Modern* and *Certain Relation*,
IN TWO
LETTERS,
One to the Right Honourable
William Lord Brereton;
The other, to the Learned
Dr. Henry More, D.D.

L O N D O N,

Printed by E. Cotes for James Collins at the
Kings Head in Westminster-Hall, 1668.



To the Right Honourable,
WILLIAM
 Lord *Brereton*.

SECT. I.

My Lord,

THE ENTERTAINMENT
 your *Lordship's* Discourse hath often
 given me in matters of the best conse-
 quence, have left a *relish* on my minde,
 which 'tis a pleasure to me to remember
 and acknowledge. And *certainly*, of all the
 matters the *various*, and *busie* minde of
 man imployes it self in, there is nothing
 more agreeable, and *importing*, than the
enquiries of the *other world*, about which
 your Lordship is so *much*, and so *affecti-*
onately concern'd. *Indeed*, as things are for
 the

the present, the LAND of SPIRITS is a kinde of *AMERICA*, and not well discover'd *Region*; yea, it stands in the *Map* of *humane Science* like *unknown Tracts*, fill'd up with *Mountains*, *Seas*, and *Monsters*: For we meet with little in the *Immaterial Hemisphere*, but *Doubts*, *Uncertainties*, and *Fables*; and whether we owe our ignorance in these matters, to the *nature* of the *things* themselves, or to the *mistakes* and *sloth* of those that have enquired about them, I leave to your Lordship's *happy sagacity* to determine. Only, perhaps more of the *supra-mundane* light had shone in upon us, but for *Superstition*, *Despair*, and the *wranglings* of the *Schools*. And did the *SOCIETY* of which your Lordship is an illustrious Member, direct some of its *wary*, and *luciferous* enquiries towards the *world* of *Spirits*, I believe we should have other kind of *Metaphysicks*, than those are taught by men that love to write great Volumes, and to be *subtile* about *nothing*. For we know not any thing of the world we live in, but by *experiment*, and the *Phænomena*; and there is the same way of *speculating immaterial* nature, by *extraordinary Events* and *Apparitions*, which possibly might be improved

ved to *notices* not *contemptible*, were there a *Cautious*, and *Faithful History* made of those *certain*, and *uncommon appearances*. At least it would be a *standing evidence* against SADDUCISM, to which the present Age is so *unhappily* disposed, and a *sensible Argument* of our *Immortality*.

NOW though you, *My Lord*, are in no danger of that *cold* and *desperate Disease*, the *Disbelief* of *Spirits* and *Apparitions*; nor need *confirmation* in the *Article* of our *future existence*; yet being engaged by my *promise*, and *more* by my *desire* of serving you, to send your Lordship the *Story* of the *DRUMMER* at *M. MOMPESSEON'S* house at *Tedworth*, (one of the most remarkable ones in our time for the confirmation of that great affair) I have now at length put the most of those particulars I could obtain, into your hands; which I had sooner done, but that I have been in a long expectation of *additional* circumstances, which *M. Mompeffon* promised me. But his occasions it seems have hindered the performance; and *mine* by reason of the distance of our abodes, would not permit *personal solicitations*, which possibly might have expedited the matter.

K

To

To which I might add, My Lord, that a person intimately concerned in it, was unwilling M. M. should meddle any more with Relations, lest thereby the *troublesome guest* should be awakened to an *unwelcome* return; which *fear* though perhaps but a *panick*, had yet an interest in the frustrating my expectations of the desired *Additionals*. That which I had from the Gentleman himself, I now send your Lordship in the subsequent *Relation*, which you may please to take as follows.

MASTER

MASTER JOHN MOMPESSEON of *Tedworth* in *Wiltshire*, being about the middle of *March*, in the year 1661. at a neighbouring Town, called *Ludgarshal*, heard a *Drum* beat there, and being concerned as a *Commission-Officer* in the *Militia*, he enquired of the *Bayliffe* of the Town, at whose House he then was, what it meant. The *Bayliffe* told him, that they had for some dayes been troubled by that *Idle Drummer*, who demanded money of the *Constable* by vertue of a pretended pass, which he thought was counterfeit. Upon this Information Master *Mompesson* sent for the fellow and ask'd him, by what *Authority* he went up and down the Countrey in that manner, demanding money, and keeping a clutter with his *Drum*? The *Drummer* answered, he had good *Authority*, and produced his pass, with a warrant under the hands of Sir *William Cawly*, and Colonel *Ayliffe* of *Gretenham*. These papers discover'd the knavery, for M. *Mompesson* knowing those Gentlemens hands, found that his pass, and warrant were *forgeries*; and upon the discovery, commanded the

vagrant to put off his *Drum*, and charged the *Constable* to carry him to the next *Justice of Peace*, to punish him according to the desert of his *Insolence*, and *Roguery*. The fellow then confest the *cheat*, and begg'd earnestly for his *Drum*. But M. *Mompesson* told him, that if he understood from Colonel *Ayliffe*, (whose *Drummer* he pretended to be,) that he had been an honest man, he should have it again; but that in the interim he would secure it. So he left the *Drum* with the *Bayliffe*, and the *Drummer* in the *Constables* hands; who it seems after, upon intreaty, let him go.

About the midst of *April* following, when M. M. was preparing for a Journey to *London*, the *Bayliffe* sent the *Drum* to his house; and being returned, his Wife told him, that they had been much affrighted in the night by *Thieves*, during his absence; and that the House had like to have been broken up. He had not been at home above three nights, when the same noise returned that had disturbed his Family when he was abroad: It was a very great knocking at his Doors, and the out-sides of his House. M. M. arose, and with a brace of Pistols in his hands, went up and down, searching for the cause of the Disturbance.

sturbance. He open'd the door, where the great knocking was, and presently the noise was at another: he opened that also, and went forth, rounding his House, but could discover nothing; only he still heard a strange noise, and hollow sound; but could not perceive what was the occasion of it. When he was returned to his Bed, the noise was a *Thumping* and *Drumming* on the top of his House, which continued a good space, and then by degrees went off into the Air.

After this *It* would come 5 nights together, and absent it self 3. knocking very hard on the out-sides of the House, which is, most of it, of Board. This *It* did constantly as they were going to sleep, either early or late. After a months racket without, *It* came into the room where the *Drum* lay, where it would be 4 or 5 nights in 7, making great hollow sounds, and sensibly shaking the Beds and Windows. *It* would come within half an hour after they were in Bed, and stay almost two. The sign of its approach was an *hurling* in the Air over the House; and at its recess they should hear a *Drum* beat, like the breaking up of a Guard. It continued in this Room for the space of two months; the Gentle-

man himself lying there to observe *It*: and though it was very troublesome in the fore-part of the night, yet after two hours disturbance, it would desist and leave all in quietness: At which time perhaps the Laws of the *Black Society* required it's presence at the general *Rendezvous* elsewhere.

About this time the Gentleman's Wife was brought to Bed; the noise came a little that night she was in Travail, but then forbore for three weeks till she had recover'd strength. After this *civil cessation*, it return'd in a *runder* manner than before, applying wholly to the younger Children; whose Bedsteads it would beat with that violence, that all present would expect, when they would fall in pieces. Those that laid their hands upon them, could feel no blows, but perceived them to shake exceedingly. It would for an hour together beat, what they call *ROUNDHEADS* and *CUCKOLDS*——the *TATTOO*, and several other Points of Warre, and that as dextrously as any Drummer. After which it would get under the Bed, and scratch there as if it had Iron Tallons. It would lift the Children up in their Beds, follow them from one room to another; and for a while

while applled to none particularly but them.

There was a Cock-lost in the House which had been observed hitherto to be untroubled; thither they removed their children, putting them to bed while it was fair day: and yet they were no sooner covered, but the *unwelcome Visitant* was come, and played his Tricks as before.

On the 5th. of *Novemb.* 1662. it kept a mighty noise, and one of the Gentleman's Servants observing two Boards in the Childrens room that seemed to move, he bid it give him one of them, and presently the Board came within a yard of him. The Fellow added, *Nay, let me have it in my hand:* upon which it was shuft quite home. The man thrust it back, and the *Demon* returned it to him, and so from one to another at least 20 times together, till the Gentleman forbad his Servant such *Familiarities*. That morning it left a *Sulphurous smell* behind it, very *displeāsant*, and *offensive*; which possibly, *My Lord*, some would conjecture to be a smack of the *bituminous* matter brought from the *mediterraneous vaults*, to which we may suppose the *vehicles* of those *impure Spirits* to be nearly allied. At night the Minister of the place, one M.

Cragge, and many of the Neighbours came to the House, and went to prayer at the Childrens Bed-side, where at that time *It* was very troublesome, and loud. During the time of *Prayer* it with-drew into the Cock-loft, but the Service being ended, it returned; and in the sight and presence of the company, the *Chairs* walked about the Room, the Childrens Shooes were thrown over their heads, and every loose thing moved about the Chamber: Also a Bed-staffe was thrown at the *Minister*, which hit him on the Leg, but so favourably, that a lock of Wooll could not have fallen more softly. And a circumstance more was observ'd, *viz.* that it never in the least roul'd, nor mov'd from the place where it lighted.

The Gentleman perceiving that *It* so much persecuted the little Children, lodg'd them out at a Neighbour's House, and took his eldest Daughter, who was about 10 years of Age, into his own Chamber, where *It* had not been in a month before. But no sooner was she in Bed, but the troublesome Guest was with her, and continued his unquiet visits for the space of three weeks, during which time it would beat the *Drum*, and exactly answer any

Tune

Tune that was knock'd, or call'd for. The House where the Gentleman had lodged his Children, being full of Strangers, he was forced to take them home again; and because they had never observed any disturbance in the Parlor, he laid them there, where also their old Visitant found them; but at this time troubled them no otherwise than by plucking them by the hair, and night-cloathes.

It would sometimes lift up the Servants with their Beds, and lay them down again gently without any more prejudice, than the fright of being carried to the *Drummers* Quarters. And at other times it would lie like a great weight upon their Feet.

'Twas observed, that when the noise was loudest, and came with the most *sudden*, and *surprizing violence*, yet no Dog would move. The knocking was oft so boysterous and rude, that it hath been heard at a considerable distance in the Fields, and awakened the Neighbours in the Village, none of which live very near this house.

About the latter end of *Decemb.* 1662 The *Drummings* were less frequent, and the noise the *Fiend* made, was a *gingling* as
it

it had been of money; occasioned, as 'twas thought, by some discourse of an antient Gentlewoman, Mother to M. M. (who was one day saying to a Neighbour that talked of *Fairies leaving money*, That she should like it well, if it would leave them some to make amends for the trouble it made them) for that night there was a great *chinking* of money all the house over; but he that rose earliest the next morning, was ne're a groat the richer. After this it desisted from it's *runder noises*, and employed it self about little *apish* Tricks, and less troublesome *Caprichio's*. On *Christmas-Eve*, an hour before day, one of the little Boyes arising out of his Bed, was hit on a fore place in his Heel, by the latch of the Door, which the *waggish Daemon* had pluckt out and thrown at him. The Pin that fastned it was so small, that 'twas for the credit of his *Opticks*, that he pick't it out without Candle-light. The night after *Christmas-Day* it threw all the old Gentlewomans Cloaths about the Room, and hid her *Bible* in the Ashes. In such *impertinent ludicrous sagaries*, it was frequent. And such passages are to me considerable intimations that the *Imps* of *Witches*, and other troublesome *appearing Spirits*, are not alwayes *Devils*, as

I have discours't in my *Considerations* about *Witchcraft*.

After *this* the *Spirit* was very *troublesome* to a Servant of M. *Mompesson's*, who was a stout Fellow, and of sober conversation. In the Relation of whose *vexations*, I beg your Lordships leave to be a little less solemn. This gamester then had the *hardiness* to lie within during the greatest disturbance. His Master permitted him to give this proof of his Courage, and lodg'd him in the next room to his own. There was *John* *engarrison'd*, and provided for the assault with a *trusty* Sword, and other implements of War. And for some time there was scarce a night past, without some doubty action and encounter, in which the success was various. One while *John's* bag and baggage would be in the *Enemies power*, *Doublet* and *Breeches* surprized, and his *Shoes* rais'd in *rebellion* against him; and then *lusty John* by *Dint* of Weapon recovers all again, suppresseth the *insurrection* of his *Shoes*, and holds his own in spite of *Satan*, and the *Drummer*. And for the most part our Combatant came off with honour and advantage, except when his enemy out-watch'd and surprized him, and then he's made a prisoner, bound hand and foot, and

at the mercy of the *Goblin* ; till he hath got the opportunity of recovering his *Diabolical Blade*, and then our *Champion* is in good plight again. Sometimes the Scuffle was so great and loud, that M. M. himself was fain to come in to *John's* assistance, which he took in very ill part, as a distrust of his courage ; as if he were not singly able to deal with the *Devil*, who is a very *Coward*, and fights with the disadvantage of a *Chain* at his *Heels*. After these contrasts, Sir *Tho. Bennet's* Son whose workman the *Drummer* had some times been, came to the house, and told M. M. some words that he had spoken, which it seems was not well resented ; for as soon as they were in bed, the *Drum* came with a mighty *rattle* : the Gentleman arose and call'd his man to him, who lay with *John*, and no sooner was M. *Bennet's* Servant gone, but there came a rustling noise as if it had been a Gentlewoman in Silk, to *John's* bed-side. Our *Champion* takes the *Alarm*, and catches at his *Sword* to assault the *Lady*, contrary to all the rules of *Knight errantry*, 'Twas with much difficulty and tugging that he got it into his possession : for it seems the *Aiery Damosel* was not willing to be courted with *John's* *Cutting Complements* : But
being

being possesse of that *dreadful Blade*, the *Amazon* of the *Aire* withdrew her self from the danger of his provoked ire, and left the Champion to admire the effects of his courage. But enough of *plaisance* upon the occasion of *John's Chivalry*, and *Encounters*.

By several instances it hath been discover'd, that this *Spirit* was *afraid* of a *weapon*, or at least pretended to be so; for when they used a *Sword*, it alwayes cautiously avoided. And of this my Lord, I have given an account elsewhere.

About the beginning of *Jan.* 1662. They were wont to hear a *singing* in the *Chimney*, before *It* came down. And one night about this time, Lights were seen in the House; one of which came into *M. Mompeffon's* Chamber, which seemed *blue* and *glimmering*, and caused a great stiffness in their eyes that saw it. An intimation that this *Dæmon* had its *vehicle* from the *bituminous Mines* of the *lower Regions*. After the light, something was heard coming up the Stairs, as if it had been some one without Shooes. The light was also 4 or 5 times seen in the *Childrens Chamber*; and the Maids confidently affirm, that the doors were at least ten times opened, and

and shut in their sight. They heard a noise at the same time when the Doors were opened, as if half a dozen had entred in together. After which some were heard to walk about the room, and one rustled as if it had been in Silk. The like M. M. himself once heard.

During the time of the knocking, when many were present, a Gentleman of the company said, *Satan*, If the *Drummer* set thee a work, give three knocks and no more, which it did very distinctly, and stopt. Then the Gentleman knockt, to see if it would answer him as it was wont, but it remained quiet. He further tryed it the same way, bidding it, for confirmation, if it were the *Drummer*, to give 5 knocks and no more that night, which it did accordingly, and was silent all the night after. This was done in the presence of Sir *Tho. Chamberlain* of *Oxfordshire*, and several others.

On *Saturday* morning, *Jan. 10.* an hour before day the *Drum* was beaten upon the out-sides of M. *Mompesson's* Chamber, from whence it went to the other end of the House, where some Gentlemen, Strangers, lay, playing at their door, and without, 4 or 5 several Tunes, and so went off into the Air

The

The next night a Smith of the Village lying with *John*, they heard a noise in the room, as if one had been shoeing of a Horse there; and somewhat came as it were with a pair of *Tincers*, and snipt at the Smith's Nose most part of the Night.

One morning M. *Mompesson* rising early to go a Journey, heard a great noise below, where the Children lay, and running down with a Pistol in his hand, heard this voice, *A witch, A witch*, as they had also heard it once before; but upon his entrance all was quiet. Having one night played some little pranks at M. *Mompesson's* Beds feet, it went into another Bed, in which one of his Daughters lay, where *it* passed from side to side, and lifted her up as it went under her. At that time there were three kinds of noises in the Bed. They endeavoured to thrust at *it* with a *Sword*, but it very carefully avoided them, still skipping under the Child, when they were ready to thrust. The night after *it* came *panting*, like a Dog out of breath; upon which one took a Bed-staff to knock, which was taken out of her hand, and thrown away with some violence: Upon this company came up, and presently the room was filled with a *bloomy noysome* smell

smell, and was very *hot*, though without Fire, and in midst of a very *sharp* and *severe* Winter. It continued in the Bed, panting, and scratching an hour and half, and then went into the next Chamber, where it khock'd a little, and seemed to rattle a chain. Thus it did for two or three nights together.

After this the old Gentlewomans Bible was found in the Ashes open, the paper-side being down-wards. M. *Mompesson* took it up, and observed that it lay open at the third Chapter of S. *Mark*, in which there is mention of the *unclean spirits falling down before our Saviour*; of his giving power to the 12 to cast out Devils, and of the Scribes opinion, that he cast them out through *Beelzebub*. The next night they strewed ashes over the Chamber, to see what impressions it would leave. And in the morning, found in one place the resemblance of a great *Claw*, in another of a lesser; some Letters in another, which they could make nothing of; besides many *Circles* and *Scratches* in the Ashes: all which I suppose were *ludicrous* devices, by which the *sportful Demon* made *pastime* with humane *Ignorance* and *Credulity*.

About this time, as I formerly told your
Lordship

Lordship, my curiosity drew me to the House, to be a witness of some of those strange passages. It had ceast from its pranks of *Drumming*, and *ruder noises* before I came; but most of the more remarkable circumstances before related, were confirmed to me there by several of the Neighbours together, who had been present at them. At that time it used to haunt the Children; I heard it scratch very loudly and distinctly in their Bed, behind the Bouldster. I thrust in my hand to the place where the noise seemed to be, upon which *It* withdrew to another part of the Bed; and upon the taking out of my hand, it returned as before. I had heard of its imitating noises, and therefore made the trial, by scratching certain determinate times upon the Sheet, as 5. and 7. and 10. which it did also, and still stopt at my number. After a while *It* went into the midst of the Bed under the Children, and there *panted* like a Dog, very loudly. I put my hand upon the place, and felt the Bed bear up against it, as if something had thrust it up; but by grasping, could feel nothing but the Feathers; and there was nothing under it. The motion *It* caused by this *panting* was so strong, that it shook the Rooms, and Windows.

L

dows. It continued thus for more than half an hour, while I stayed, and as long after. I was certain there could be no *fallacy* nor *deceit* in these passages, which I critically examined; and I am sure there was nothing of *fear*, or *imagination* in the case; for I was no more concern'd than I am at the Writing this Relation.

But to proceed with *M. Mompeffon's* own particulars.

There came one morning a light into the Childrens Chamber, and the voice, crying, *A witch, a witch*, for at least an hundred times together. *M. M.* seeing at a time some Wood move that was in the Chimney, when no one was near, discharged a Pistol into it; after which they found several drops of Blood on the Hearth, and in divers places of the Stairs.

There was a seeming *calm* in the House for 2 or 3 nights after the discharge of the *Pistol*; but then it came again, applying itself to a little child, newly taken from Nurse; which it so persecuted, that It would not let the poor Infant rest for two nights together, nor suffer a Candle in the Room, but would carry them away lighted up the *Chimney*, or throw them under the Bed. It so scared this Child, by leaping upon it, that for
some

some hours it could not be recovered out of the fright. Insomuch as they were enforced again to remove the Children out of the House. The next night after they were gone, something about midnight came up the Stairs, and knock't at M. Mompeffon's door; but he lying still, *It* went up another pair of Stairs, to his man's Chamber, to whom *It* appeared, standing at his Beds foot. The exact shape and proportion he could not discover; but saw a great body, with two red and glaring eyes, which for some time were fixt steddily upon him, and at length disappeared.

Another night Strangers being present, *It* purr'd in the Children's Bed like a Cat; and at that time the Cloaths and Children were lift up from the Bed, and 6 men could not keep them down. Upon this they removed them thence, intending to have ript up the Bed: But they were no sooner laid in another, but this second Bed was more troubled than the former. It continued thus 4 hours, and so beat the Childrens Legs against the Beds-Posts, that they were forced to arise, and sit up all night. After this it would empty Chamber-pots into their Beds, and strew them with Ashes; and that though they were never so carefully watch't,

It put a long piked Iron into M. *Mompesson's* Bed, and into his Mothers a naked Knife upright. It would fill porringers with Ashes, throw every thing about, and keep a noise all day.

About the beginning of *April, 1663.* a Gentleman that lay in the house had all his money turn'd black, in his Pockets. And M. *Mompesson*, one morning coming into his Stable, found the Horse he was wont to ride, on the ground, with one of his hinder Legs in his mouth, and so fastned there, that 'twas difficult work for several men, with a Leaver, to get it out. After this there were some other remarkable things; but my account goes no farther: Only M. *Mompesson* told me, that afterwards the house was several nights beset with 7. or 8. in the shape of men, who as soon as a Gun was discharged, would shuffle away together into an Arbour.

THE DRUMMER was tryed at the *Affize at Salisbury*, condemn'd to the *Islands*, and was accordingly sent away: but I know not how, made a shift to come back again. And 'tis observable, that during all the time of his restraint, and absence, the House was in quiet; but as soon as ever he came back, the disturbance also returned.

He

He had been a Souldier under *CRUMWEL*, and used to talk much of gallant Books, he had of an odd Fellow's, who was counted a *Wizard*. And upon this occasion I'll mention to your Lordship a passage, which I had not from M. *Mompesson*; but yet is not irrelative.

A Gentleman, who was with me at the House, being in company with one who practiseth *Physick*, and pretends to *strange* matters, was telling the Doctor this *Relation*: The *Physician* told him, he was sure 'twas nothing but a *Rendezvous* of *Witches*, and that for an hundred pounds he would undertake to clear the house from all disturbance. In consequence of which discourse he talk'd many high things; and having got my friend alone in another Room apart from the Company, said, He would shew him he could do something more than ordinary, and askt him who he desired to see. The Gentleman had no great confidence in his talk, but yet he pressing that he would name some one, said, He desired to see no one so much as his Wife. Upon this the Doctor took up a Glass that was in the room, and setting it down again, bid him look in it, which he did; and professeth that he saw the perfect appearance of his wife; which is

the more strange, in that this person was an absolute stranger to her. This my Lord, my friend averr'd to me for a certainty; and he is one in whose word I can repose, being a man very sober, and intelligent. I understand since, that this Doctor hath the name of a very odd person among his Neighbours; and not only the credulous, and easie vulgar suspect him, but even those of more sense and judgment.

SECT. II.

THUS MY LORD, I have given you the summe of the *Relation*, which I extracted from M. *Mompesson's* own Letters. The same particulars also he writ to the Doctor of the Chair in *Oxford*. He is a Gentleman of whose *veracity* in this account I know not the least ground of suspicion, he being neither *vain*, nor *credulous*; but a *discreet*, *sagacious*, and *manly* person. You know my Lord, the *credit* of *matters of fact*, depends much upon the consideration of the *Relators*; and if *They* cannot be *deceived* themselves, nor supposed any wayes interested

sed to *impose* upon others, we *may*, and we *ought* to acquiesce in their *reports*: For upon these circumstances all *humane Faith* is grounded, and *matter of Fact* is not capable of any proof besides, but *that of immediate sensible Evidence*. Now this Gentleman cannot be thought *ignorant himself* of the *Truth*, and *certainty* of what he relates, it having been done in his *Family*, and himself a *Witness*, and that not of a little circumstance, or two, but of an hundred; not for once, or twice only, but for the space of some years: during which time he was a *concerned*, and *inquisitive* observer. So that it cannot with any shew of reason be supposed that any of his Servants abused him, since in all that time he must needs have *detected the deceit*; and what interest could any of his Family have had (if it had been possible to have managed it without discovery) to continue so *long*, so *troublesome*, and so *injurious* a *fallacy*. Nor can it with any thing of more *probability* be imagined, that his own *melancholly* deluded him; since (besides that, he is no *crasie* or *imaginative* person) that humour could not have been so lasting and *pertinacious*: or if it were so in him, can we think he infected his whole Family, and those Multi-

tudes of his Neighbours and Others, that think themselves as well assured of those actions, of which they were Witnesses, as himself? These are *wild Supposals*, and not like to tempt any but those whose *wills* are their *Reasons*. The *main Relator* then *knew himself*, whether what he said was *True*, and whether those things which were acted in his House were *Juggles*, and contrived *Impostures*, or *extraordinary realities*. And if so, What Interest could he serve in maintaining such a *cheat*, if it were one, and he knew it to be so?

He suffered by it in his *Name*, in his *Estate*, in his *Affairs*, and in the general *Peace* of his *Family*. Those that believ'd not any thing of *Spirits*, or *Witchcraft* in those *Transactions*, (which were not a few) took him for an *Impostor*. Those that *did*, many of them judg'd the permission of such an extraordinary evil, to be the *Judgment* of God upon him, for some *notorious impiety*. Thus his *Name* was continually exposed to *Censure*, and his *Estate* suffered by the concourse of people from all parts to his house, whom he could not dismiss without the *Civility* of an Entertainment. And besides this, he was hindered, and diverted from the prosecution of his Affairs, and he could

could hardly get, or retain any Servants. To which, if I add the continual *hurry* that his Family was in, the *affrights, vexations, and tossings* up and down of his Children, and the *watchings* and *Disturbance* of his whole House; in all which himself must needs be the most concerned person, I say, the putting together of these Circumstances will be evidence enough, that he could have no interest in designing to put a cheat upon the world, in which he would most of all have injured, and abused himself. Or, if he should have designed and managed so *incredible, so unprofitable* an Imposture, 'tis strange he should trouble himself so long in actuating an *abusive Artifice*, only to *deceive*, and to be talk't of. And 'tis yet more so, that none of those numerous *inquisitive* persons, that came thither purposely to *Criticise*, and examine the truth of those matters, could make any *Discoveries*; Especially since many came prejudiced against the *belief* of such things in *general*, and others resolved beforehand against the belief of *this*: and all were permitted all possible freedom of *search* and *inquiry*: And after things were weighed and examined, several that were prejudicated enough before, went away strongly convicted. To which I add, That there are
divers

divers *particulars* in the *Story*, in which no *abuse* or *deceit* could have been practiced; as the *motion* of *Boards* and *Chairs* of themselves, the *beating* of a *Drum* in the midst of a *Room*, and in the *Air*, when nothing was to be seen; the *heat* that fill'd a whole *Room* without *Fire* in excessive cold *Weather*: The *Scratching* and *Panting* where nothing ordinary could be suspected for the cause; and several others such like: All which have numbers of sober and uninterested persons to attest them.

'TIS true my Lord, that when the Gentlemen the King sent were there, the House was quiet, and nothing heard, or seen that night. And this was *confidently*, and with *triumph* reported by many as an evidence of the *untruth* of the *Story*. But certainly 'twas but *poor Logick* to conclude in *matters of Fact* from a *single Negative*, and *such a one* against *numerous Affirmatives*; and to infer that a thing was never done, because omitted at such a season; and that *no body* ever *saw*, what *this man*, or *that* did not. By the same rule of consequence I may say, that there were never any Robbers upon *Salisbury Plains*, because I have often travelled over them, and never met any of those *sorts of Violence*; and the French-man
inferred

inferred well, that said, *There was no Sun in England, because he was 6 weeks here, and never saw it.* This my Lord, is the common Argument of those that deny the being of *Apparitions*; They have travell'd all times of the night, and never saw any thing worse than *themselves*; and it may be so: Therefore Spirits and Apparitions are *Bugs* and *Impostures*. But why do not such Arguers conclude, that there was never a *Cut-purse* on *Ludgate-Hill*, because they have past that way a hundred times, and were never met with by any of those *nimble Practitioners*. Certainly, he that denyes *Apparitions* upon the confidence of this *Negative*, against the vast heap of *positive Assurances*, is *credulous*, if he believe there was ever any *High-way-man* in the world, if he himself was never rob'd. And the *Tryals* of *Affises*, and *Attestations* of those that *have*, if he will be just, ought to move his assent no more in this case, than in that of *Witches* and *Apparitions* which have the very same evidence. But for the particular of the quiet of M. *Mompesson's* House, while the *Courtiers* were there, it may be remembered, and considered, that the *Disturbances* were not always *constant*, but *interrupted* by *intervals* of *Cessation*, sometimes for several
dayes

dayes, and sometimes for weeks, as is mention'd in the *Relation*; some passages of which, that record those Cessations, were I am sure written in M. Mompeffon's Letters, before those Gentlemen had been at *Tedworth*. So that its omitting at that time 'tis like was meerly *accidental*; or possibly the *malicious Spirit* was not willing to give so publick a *Testimony* of *Its being*, and *troublesome incursions*, for the convincing those, he had rather should continue in the *disbelief* of his *existence*: but however it were, this circumstance will afford but a very slender *inference* against the *credit* of the *Story*, except among those who are willing to take any thing for an *Argument* against things they have an interest not to acknowledge. There are other exceptions made against the Truth of this Relation, and Dr. H. More sent me an account of some particulars that were *objected* at *Cambridge*, to which I have answered in a Letter to him, and have sent it your Lordship in company with this.

THIS, my Lord, is the sum of this Affair; and I have taken notice of, and recorded the *particulars* of the *Relation*, not to satisfy *curiosity*, or feed the *humour* that

that delights in *wonders*, which are but *mean* designs, and unbecoming one that pretends to any thing that is *generous*. But I consider it as a great evidence against *Saducism*, the Disease of our Age. And though those passages are not so *dreadful*, *tragicall*, and *amazing*, as there are some related in Stories of this kind; yet are they never the less *probable*, or *true*, for being less *prodigious*, and *astounding*. And they are strange enough to prove themselves the *effects* of some *invisible extraordinary Agent*, and to demonstrate, that there are *SPIRITS* that sometimes sensibly intermeddle in our Affairs: And I think they do it with as many clear circumstances of evidence as any thing that is extant. For these things were not done long ago, or at far distance, in an ignorant Age, or among a barbarous people; they were not seen only by 2. or 3. of the *melancholick*, and *superstitious*, and reported by those that made them serve the advantage, and interest of a *Faction*. They were not the passages of a day, or night, nor the *vanishing glances* of an *Apparition*: But those circumstances were near, and late, *publique*, frequent, and of years continuance; witnessed by *multitudes* of competent, and *unbiaſt*. Attestors, and acted in a *searching* and *incredulous* Age;

Argu-

Arguments enough for the conviction of a modest, and capable reason.

This Relation, my Lord, you perceive proves the Being of *SPIRITS* and *APPARITIONS*, but not so directly that of *WITCHES* and *Diabolical Contracts*; and therefore, while I am about it, I shall add the other *NARRATIVE* which I promised your Honour, and which I received from the *Justice of Peace*, who took the *Examination* upon *Oath*: 'Tis the same Gentleman to whom I directed my Letter about *WITCHCRAFT*, and a very judicious, searching, and sagacious person. He was pleased to give me his own Copy of the *Examination*; the sum of which is in the following Relation.

SECT. III.

ON SUNDAY, 15. of Nov. 1657.
 About three of the Clock in the afternoon, *Rich. Jones*, then a *sprightly youth*, about 22 years old, Son of *Henry Jones* of *Shepton Mallet*, in this County of *Somerset*, being in his Fathers House alone, and perceiving one looking in at the Window,

went

went to the door; where, one *Jane Brooks* of the same Town (but then by name unknown to this Boy) came to him. She desired him to give her a piece of close Bread, and gave him an *Apple*. After which she also stroked him down on the right side, shook him by the hand, and so bid him good night. The Youth returned into the house, where he had been left well when his Father, and one *Gibson* went from him: but at their return, which was within an hour, or thereabout, they found him ill, and complaining of his right side, in which the pain continued the most part of that night: and on Monday following in the evening, the Boy roasted the *Apple* he had of *Jane Brooks*; and having eaten about half of it, was extremely ill, and sometimes speechless; but being recovered, he told his Father, that a Woman of the Town, on the Sunday before, had given him that *Apple*, and that she stroked him on the side. He said he knew not her Name, but should her person, if he saw her. Upon this *Jones* was advised to invite the Women of *Shepton* to come to his house, upon the occasion of his Son's illness; and the Child told him, that in case the Woman should come in, when he was in his Fit, if he were not

able

able to speak, he would give him an intimation by a Jogg, and desired that his Father would then lead him through the Room; for he said he would put his hand upon her, if she were there. After this he continuing very ill, many Women came daily to see him: And *Jane Brooks* the Sunday after, came in with two of her Sisters, when several other Women of the Neighbourhood were there.

Upon her coming in, the Boy was taken so ill, that for some time he could not see, nor speak; but having recovered his sight, he gave his Father the *Item*, and he lead him about the Room. The Boy drew towards *Jane Brooks*, who was behinde her two Sisters, among the other Women, and put his hand upon her; which his Father perceiving, immediately scratcheth her Face, and drew blood from her. The Youth then presently cryed out that he was well, and so he continued 7. or 8. days: But then meeting with *Alice Coward*, sister to *Jane Brooks*, who passing by, said to him [*How do you my Honey?*] he presently fell ill again. And after that, the said *Coward*, and *Brooks* often appeared to him: The Boy would describe the *Cloathes* and *Habit* they were in at the time, exactly, as the Constable, and others, have found upon repairing

repairing to them; though *Brooks's* house was at a good distance from *Jones's*. This they often tryed, and alwayes found the Boy right in his *Descriptions*.

On a certain Sunday about Noon, the *Childe* being in a Room with his *Father*, and one *Gibson*, and in his *Fit*, He on the sudden called out, that he saw *Jane Brooks* on the wall, and pointed to the place, where immediately *Gibson* struck with a *Knife*; upon which the Boy cryed out, [*O Father, Cox. Gibson hath cut Jane Brooks's hand, and 'tis Bloody.*] The *Father*, and *Gibson* immediately repaired to the *Constable*, a discreet person, and acquainting him with what had past, desired him to go with them to *Jane Brooks* House, which he did. They found her sitting in her Room on a stool with one hand over the other. The *Constable* ask'd her how she did? she answered, *not well*. He ask'd again, why she sat with one hand over the other? she replied, *She was wont to do so*. He enquired if any thing were amiss with her hand? her answer was, *It was well enough*. The *Constable* desired he might see the hand that was under; which she being unwilling to shew him, he drew it out, and found it *bloody*; according to what the Boy had said. Being ask't how it came

so, she said, 'Twas scratched with a great Pin.

On the 8. of December, 1657. the Boy, Jane Brooks, and Alice Coward, appeared at Castle-Cary, before the Justices, M. Hunt, and M. Cary. The Boy having begun to give his Testimony upon the coming in of the two Women, and their looking on him, was instantly taken speechless, and so remained till the Women were removed out of the Room, and then in a short time, upon examination, he gave a full relation of the mentioned particulars.

On the 11. of January following, the Boy was again examined by the same Justices at Shepton Mallet, and upon the sight of Jane Brooks was again taken speechless, but was not so afterwards, when Alice Coward came into the room to him.

On the next appearance at Shepton, which was on the 17. of February, there were present many Gentlemen, Ministers, and others: the Boy fell into his Fit upon the sight of Jane Brooks, and lay in a man's Arms like a dead person: the woman was then willed to lay her hand on him, which she did, and he thereupon started, and sprang out in a very strange and unusual manner. One of the Justices to prevent all possibilities

of Tedworth.

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lities of *Legerdemain*, caused *Gibson*, and the rest to stand off from the *Boy*, and then that *Justice* himself held him. The youth being blind-folded, the *Justice* call'd as if *Brooks* should touch him, but winked to others to do it, which 2 or 3 successively did; but the *Boy* appeared not concerned. The *Justice* then call'd on the *Father* to take him, but had privately before desired one *M. Geoffry Strode* to bring *Jane Brooks* to touch him, at such time, as he should call for his *Father*; which was done, and the *Boy* immediately sprang out after a very odd and violent fashion. He was after touched by several persons, and moved not; but *Jane Brooks* being again caused to put her hand upon him, he started and sprang out twice or thrice, as before. All this while he remained in his *Fit*, and some time after; and being then laid, on a Bed in the same Room, the people present could not for a long time bow either of his *Arms*, or *Legs*.

Between the mentioned 15. of Nov. and the 11. of Jan. the two *women* appeared often to the *Boy*, their *Hands* cold, their *Eyes* staring, and their *Lips*, and *Cheeks* looking pale. In this manner on a *Thursday* about noon, the *Boy* being newly laid into his

Bed, *Jane Brooks*, and *Alice Coward* appeared to him, and told him, that what they had begun, they could not perform. But if he would say no more of it, they would give him *money*, and so put a *two-pence* into his Pocket. After which they took him out of his Bed, laid him on the ground, and vanished; and the Boy was found by those that came next into the Room lying on the floor, as if he had been *dead*. The *two-pence* was seen by many, and when it was put into the *Fire*, and *hot*, the Boy would fall ill; but as soon as it was taken out, and cold, he would be again as well as before. This was seen and observed by a Minister, a discreet person, when the Boy was in one Room, and the *two-pence* (without his knowledge) put into the Fire in another: and this was divers times tryed in the presence of several persons.

Between the 8. of *December*, and the 17. of *Feb.* in the year mention'd, divers persons at sundry times heard in the Boy a noise like the *croaking* of a *Toad*, and a voice within him, saying, *Jane Brooks*, *Alice Coward*, twelve times in near a quarter of an hour. At the same time some held a Candle before the Boyes face, and earnestly looked on him, but could

could not perceive the least motion of his Tongue, Teeth, or Lips, while the voice was heard.

On the 25. of Feb. between two and three in the afternoon, the Boy being at the House of *Richard Isles* in *Shepton Mallet*, went out of the Room into the Garden; *Isles* his Wife followed him, and was within two yards when she saw him rise up from the ground before her, and so mounted higher and higher, till he passed in the Air over the Garden Wall, and was carryed so above ground more then 300. yards, falling at last at one *Jordan's* door at *Shepton*, where he was found as dead for a time. But coming to himself, told *Jordan* that *Jane Brooks* had taken him up by the Arme out of *Isles* his Garden, and carryed him in the Air, as is related.

The Boy at several other times was gone on the suddain, and upon search after him, found in another room as dead, and at sometimes *strangely hanging* above ground, his hands being flat against a great Beam in the top of the room, and all his body two or three foot from ground. There he hath hung a quarter of an hour together; and being afterwards come to himself, he told those that found him, that

Jane Brooks had carryed him to that place, and held him there. Nine people at a time saw the Boy so strangely hanging by the Beam.

From the 15. of *November*, to the 10. of *March* following, he was by reason of his *Fits* much wasted in his body, and uninspired; but after that time, being the day the two Women were sent to Goal, he had no more of those Fits.

Jane Brooks was condemned, and executed at *Charde Affixes*, *March* 26. 1658.

THIS, MY LORD, is the sum of *M. Hunt's* NARRATIVE, which concludes with both the Justices attestation, thus,

The aforesaid passages were some of them seen by us, and the rest, and some other remarkable ones not here set down, were, upon the examination of several credible witnesses, taken upon Oath before us.

Subscribed,

Rob. Hunt,

John Cary.

THIS

THIS, I think, is good evidence of the Being of *witches*; if the *Sadduce* be not satisfied with it, I would fain know, what kinde of *proof* he would expect? Here are the *testimony* of *sense*, the *Oaths* of several *credible Attestors*, the *nice* and *deliberate scrutiny* of *quick-sighted* and *judicious Examiners*, and the *judgment* of an *Affize* upon the whole. And now the *security* of all our *Lives* and *Fortunes* depends upon no greater circumstances of evidence then *these*. If such proof may not be credited, no *Fact* can be *proved*, no *wickedness* can be *punish'd*, no *right* can be *determined*, *Law* is at an end, and *blinde Justice* cannot tell where to *strike*. *All men* are *lyars*, and the *Long Sword* must settle *properties*, and resolve all doubts of *Truth*, and *Claim*. These large morsels, my Lord, he that denies such *evidences* of *fact* must swallow, and then let him tell me by what *title* he holds any thing he possesseth? How proves he his *Relation*, and consequently *Succession* to the rights of his *presumed progenitors*? and 'tis no great matter whether he can or no, since when that is done, How will it appear, that his *Bonds*, *Entails*, and *Leases* are not *Forgeries*, and *tricks* of *Cousenage*? And how will he

clear his own *Bargains* and *Transactions* of business from being *Dreams* and *Illusions*? Certainly, he that runs upon all these *Rocks*, and layes the train of so many *dangerous absurdities*, hath some mighty wind that drives him, and some huge necessity for his conclusion, and nothing else can justify his assertion, *That those things of Witches are not true*; but this other, *That they are impossible*; and when he hath done *that*, I'll use his arguments to prove all the world is a great *enchanted House*, and *Nature* a grand *Imposture*, viz. that really there are no such things as are represented to our gull'd and abused senses, but that all are meer *prestigious shews*, and *phantastical Ideas*. I say, my Lord, I'll prove *this* by the same method of arguing that concludes against the *possibility* of the actions of *witchcraft*, which I know can proceed but to this inference, *That the mode of those performances is not perceived*; from whence, if it be just to infer, *That the things are not*; I'll set up for a *Sceptick*, and use the argument against all the *objects* of my senses; which I have elsewhere said, and proved to be really as *unconceiveable* and *unaccountable* as the *obstrusest* matters of *Magick* and *Fascinations*.

And

And now, my Lord, *after all*, I admire to hear what *some object*, that I deliver *much, fide alienâ*, but *little, fide propriâ*; the sense of which *Objection* must be *this*, if *any*, That the further any *Relation* of this kind is removed from it's first *witnesses*, and *Attestors*, the more liable it is to the *suspensions* of *mistake*, or *deceit*; and *this* being *one* remove from the *immediate Relators* is consequently, *one* from *certainty*: which *exception* can do no more but shew, how willing some men are, to catch at any thing, that may give the least appearance of *support* to their *sinking Infidelity*; and your Lordship may wonder I should take notice of such a trifle, when I have declar'd, That these *Relations* are the *extracts* of the *Gentlemens* own *Narratives*, who are men of *note*, and *credit*, yet living, and have *attested* all those *particulars* under their hands, and in their persons *publiquely*; when *these* things are *generally* known, have been *witnessed* by *great Numbers*, *sworn by Divers*, and *tryed*, and *found* at the *publique Assize*, in the face of the County where they were *done*, as I have instanced; I say, to *object* the want of the *proper Testimony* of the *Relator*, when there is *that*, and the *Faith* of a *Country* to *witness* the *truth* of *Relations* cloathed with
such

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such *notorious* circumstances of *credit*, This is but the *shift* of *those*, that want somewhat to say to purpose.

But, my Lord, my Pen runs out to your Lordship's trouble; I recal it, and must permit it to add no more, but that I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obliged

Humble Servant

J. G.

A
W H I P
FOR THE
DROLL,
Fidler to the Atheist:
BEING
REFLECTIONS
ON
Drollery & Atheism.

Sent, upon the occasion of the
Drummer of Tedworth,
IN A
LETTER
To the most Learned
Dr. *Hen. More*, D.D.

L O N D O N,
Printed by E. Cotes for James Collins at the
Kings-Head in Westminster-Hall, 1668.

PHIW

1891-1892

Dr. J. A. ...

D. D. R. R. R.

Approved by J. Edgar Hoover
Director



To the Reverend and Learned

Dr. Henry More, D.D.

SECT. I.

Honoured Sir,

THe scrupulous care you take in examining the *Story* of the *Disturbance* at *TEDWORTH*, is no more then becomes a *Philosopher*, and one that is not willing to be deceived. And without such a *cautious*, and *particular* enquiry, you could not answer the *murmures*, and *petty* evasions of wilful Unbelievers. Those *Objections* you pickt up at *Cambridge*, have the ill fortune to miscarry in almost every circumstance; and are in no likelihood of being believed, but at a great distance. Some of them, I could have answered upon mine own knowledge; and concerning the rest, I have made a strict inquiry

quiry of M. Mompesson himself, and others, when I was last in those parts; and upon certain information, I give you this account.

To the (1.) that saith, *The House is rented, and that this is a device to beat down the value of it.* I answer from his mouth, That the House is his own; and so the foundation of this shift is overturned. The second of those that say, *It is a trick to get money from those that come to see the Prodigy,* hath as little truth, but much more malice in the first contrivers than the former. For this Gentleman being a person of Estate, I'm confident scorns so base, and so beggerly a policy; and is so far from making any advantage by the Disturbance, that it hath done him very material prejudice in his Fortunes, and Affairs. And those strangers that come to see the Prodigy, use to leave nothing behinde them, except thanks for the Civility of their Entertainments. 'Tis true (3.) as others say, That the House is boarded without, at least a great part of it. But there are no Cellars (as the Objection adds) save only under the Par-lour; and the Disturbance was most in other Rooms. And whereas (4) 'tis objected,

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jected; That a Knight that offer'd to go down, could not be permitted. 'Tis answer'd me, that the Gentleman might have gone down, had he pleas'd; and his Servant did, who made a careful search, but could finde nothing that might be a cause of the noise, which he affirmed to be above; and that it proceeded not from the Cellar. And to disable what other Objectors say, viz. (5.) That there was no Drumming in the midst of any Room, but only a striking on the Boards as it were with a Hammer, in a corner of the out-sides of the House: I say, to null this pretence, M. Mompeffon and others assured me, that the noise was oft in the midst of the Room, and oft overhead; and he saith that there is scarce a Man, or Childe, in the Village, but hath heard, and can witness it. And after the first moneth it was almost alwayes within. Thus Sir, to the Objections of others which you have gather'd. And to your own Queries I make this return.

Whereas you inquire (1.) *What part of the Childrens Bed did the Damon beat, and what noise did it make?* 'Tis answered, that it beat against the Head and Posts of the Bed, and that when hands were laid

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laid on each side of them, at those times they would shake as if they would fall in pieces; but nothing else could be perceived, or felt. The noise was like to that of striking with a Hammer. And then (2.) *To that, whether the Drummer's Drum was ever looked on while it beat; or was it only in the Dark?* I am assured, that it was seen while the noise was made upon it, both by the light of Fire, and Candle. (3.) *To the Query, what were the Boards that moved, by what light was their motion seen, and by whom?* M. Mompesson answers, They were seen move forwards, and backwards in the light of clear day; before the Sun was set, and by a whole house full of people. And whereas (4.) you ask, *In what clearness of light were the Chairs seen walk about, and by what witnesses?* 'Tis answered, That they were seen to do so by Candle-light, and by divers persons.

As to what I was a witness of my self, I add these circumstances for the satisfaction of your Queries. The Children were in Bed, when the *Scratching* and *panting* was; but I am sure did not contribute to those noises. I saw their hands above the Cloathes, during the *Scrapping*, and

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And searched the place whence the noise came : To which I might add, That they were little harmless, modest Girles, that could not well have been suspected guilty of the confidence of such a juggle, had it been possible they could have acted in it. For the *panting*, I am certain there was no *dog* in the *Bcd* ; for I graspt it with my hand, and felt it in all parts, especially there where the original motion was. The *Bed* also was *searcht under*, but no *Dog*, nor any creature else could be found there. The *Floor* I said *shook* with the *panting sensibly*. and yet it was as strong and substantial an one, as ordinarily is seen. But the *Children* indeed did not seem to be much *concern'd*, having been us'd to *those*, and *ruder noises*, and there was company in the room to assure them.

SECT. II.

THUS, Sir, I have briefly answer'd others OBJECTIONS, and your QUÆRIES. And because I have an humour to say little more, I'll consider (what you know as well as any man alive) the *Rea-*

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sons men are so apt to cavil at this kind of *Relations*, and are rather willing to believe any thing than the truth of such a *Narrative*. They are chiefly, I think, an *affected humour* of *DROLLERY*, and *Scoffing*, and a worse cause, *ATHEISM*.

FOR the *First*, the Subject of *Witches*, and *Apparitions* is an apt, and ample occasion. And the *cheats* of *Impostors*, the *conceits* of *Melancholly*, the *credulity* of *ignorance*, the *tricks* of *Waggery*, the more *solemn vanities* of *Superstition*, and the *tales* of *old Women*; these are excellent *Topicks* for a *frolick* and *wanton fancy*. And the desire the *Humourist* hath to be some body, and to have a *name* above those of common apprehension, will be sure to actuate the *scoffing vein*; in the exercise of which, if he have *quibbled luckily*, and made folks *laugh*, he is encouraged to take all such occasions to prove himself a *WIT*, and to shew he had a pretty way to *play the Fool*. And when he hath *wanton'd* a while, and frolickly toy'd in his *affected merriments*, his *reason* becomes an obedient servant to his *fancy*. He makes himself *believe*, by those *arguments*, that at *first* were intended only to make him *laugh*, and in the end, concludes in earnest, that there

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there is neither *witch*, nor *Apparition*: and 'tis well if he stop there. Now these, Sir, are the WITS (if we will believe them) and their admirers take every *jest* for an *argument*, and a *loud laugh* upon an idle tale of a *Devil*, or a *witch*, for a *demonstration* of the *non-existence* of such beings. And thus the *humour* propagates, And SADDUCISM is the *Fashion*. Nor is this all, but by the same method every thing that is *sacred*, or *serious* hath been exposed, and both *Government*, and *Religion* made the objects of idle, and phantastick *buffoonry*. And must we call this WIT Sir? I confess there are few things that urge me to more *indignation*, than to hear that name which deserves to signify *better*, to be so *injuriously* apply'd. Certainly WIT is not an *odd metaphor*, or a *lucky simile*, a *wild fetch*, or *unexpected inference*, a *mimick action*, or a *pretty knack* in *telling* of a tale: But It is a *faculty* to profound into the *depth* of things, to finde out their *Causes*, and *Relatives*, *Consonances*, and *Disagreements*, and to make *fit*, *useful*, and *unobvious applications* of their respective *Relations* and *Dependances*; for which great, and noble exercises of the mind, the *Droll* is the most unfit and incompetent person in the World; and those that on

this account assume the prerogative of being the only WITS, are of all men the most incapable of being so. For that *trivial*, and *peddling* way of *Fancy*, and *Humour*, to which they are addicted, *emasculates* their *minds*, and makes them *superficial*, *flashy*, and *phantastical*, by imploying them upon *effeminacies*, and little *apish* fooleries. And by these *darling entertainments* of a too *fondly-indulged* fancy, the mind is made incapable of *serious* and *deep reflections*, which give it the *noblest*, and most *valuable improvements*: so that I have observ'd, that the *Drolling Humourists* are for the most part, *remarkably defective*, in *close ratiocinations*, and the *worst* in the world at *inference*; which is no wonder, since fancy is a *desultory*, and *roving faculty*; and when 'tis not under the *conduct* of a *severe judgment*, not able to keep it self to a *steady*, and *resolved attention*; much less, to make *coherent chains* of *rational Deduction*. So that 'tis next to impossible for such *wits* as *these*, to arrive to more than a *knack* of *scoffing* at what they *understand not*. And they are under almost an *invincible* temptation of doing so, by every thing that is too *great* for their *comprehension*; for the *humour* that acts them is *proud*, and *assuming*, and would not have any thing to be valu'd, of which

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which it self is *incapable*; and therefore it *depreciates* all the *nobler* and more *generous* matters which *It* hath very great reason to despair of; and endeavours by a *ridiculous*, and *insolent scorn*, to lift it self above them. And yet this *presumed wit* which raiseth them to such an *elevation* in their own *conceit*, is but a *young* and *boyish humour*; and the very *first essays* of *Juvenile Inventions* are in these *exercises* of *Fancy*, which the *maturer spirit* out-grows. For you know, Sir, our *senses* are the first powers we *exercise*, and *indulge* in our *greenest years*: From them, by degrees our *imaginations* grow up, and *their* actions, and gratifications are the pleasures and entertainments of *youth*; which is easie to observe in the little *stirs*, *quibbles*, and *tricks* of *Fancy*, with which the *younger Students* in the *Universities* are so much tickled, and transported. But when *age* and *experience* ripens the *Judgment* (which is the faculty of slowest growth) we then slight this *wantonness*, and *toying* of our *Fancies*, and apply ourselves to pursuits that are more *manly*, and *concerning*. And when the *Judgment* is come to its full *exercise*, and *pitch*, and hath overcome, and silenced the *futilities* and *prejudices* of *imagination*; we are *then*, and not *till then*, grown

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into manhood. And those that never arrive to this consistence, but spend their Age in fooling with their Fancies, They are yet children, though they have gray hairs, and are still boyes, though past their great Climacterical.

I confess, Sir, I am not so cynical, and severe, but that I allow even to the more improved Geniusses their relaxations and pleasant Intervals, And sage Socrates himself sometimes rid the Boyes Hobby-Horse. Fancy may be permitted its plaisance, and in-offensive raileries, so long as they are governed by the rules of vertue, and a prudent Judgment. And no doubt God himself allows all our powers, and faculties their innocent gratifications; Yea, and I acknowledge a delightful prettiness in the results of a managed and judicious fancy, while it is employed in exposing vice, and conceited follies, to deserved scorn, and laughter. But when Imagination is rampant, loose, and ungoverned, when it knows no bounds, and observes no Decorums, but shoots at Rاندome, and insolently flies at all things that are august, and venerable; its sallies are then vitious, and detestable excesses; and those that are of this humour, are but a sort of steering Buffoons, that is, a better kinde of

Apes,

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Apes, in the judgment of the *wise*, though *wits* in their own.

SECT. III.

BUT SIR, I intimated a greater charge against these *quibbling debauches*, (*viz.*) that they are the enemies of GOVERNMENT and RELIGION; and shall prove it, with this addition, that they are so of all the *better sorts of KNOWLEDGE*.

For GOVERNMENT you know Sir, its *influence* depends much upon the *reverence* its Rulers have from the people; and while *They* are *men*, there will be miscarriages in *publick affairs*, and *managements of State*; And if all the *slips*, and *imperfections*; all the *mistakes* and *faults* of the *supreme Ministers of Rule*, be rattled and aggravated among the *herd*, The *Government* will thereby be exposed to the *storns* of the *Rabble*, and lose a great part of its *force* with its *reverence*. And in *this* it suffers infinitely from the *drolling phantasticks*, who blow in the *fores*, till they have

rankled them, with their *malicious*, and *poisonous breath*, and shoot *Libels* at the *Government* till they have made *deep wounds* in its *reputation*, and *Reverence*, and turned every *tongue* into a *weapon* of *war* against it. Thus do these *Chams* discover their *Father's* nakedness, and rejoyce to publish the shame of those, whose failures and infirmities, *Loyalty*, *Prudence*, and regard to the *publique* quiet, should oblige them to *conceal*.

Nor (2.) is *RELIGION* more beholden to them. For a minde that useth to *whistle* up and down in the *Levities* of *Fancy*, will finde a very great indisposition to the *serious*, and *solemn* exercises of *Piety*, and that will grow into an *aversation*, which will be sure to prompt the *humourist* to take all occasions, to expose it: so that he quickly *jests* at *Scripture*, and makes a *mock* of *sin*, *playes* with *eternal flames*, and *scoffs* at those that *fear* them. As if the *sacred Oracles* were but a *Legend* of *idle Tales*; and *sin* but a *name* coin'd by *Fancy*, and *vain fears*; as if *Hell* were but a *painted fire*, and the *Religious* a sort of *timorous Fools*, that are afraid of *Buggs*, and the *Imagery* of *Dreams*; and if these are not yet the *real Articles* of their *Creed*, their *extravagant Fancies*, and
vile

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vile affections are like in a short time to encline these *light*, and *impure* Spirits, to make them so, and this sort of *Wits* are either *Atheists*, or as great *prodigies* of *Folly*, if they are *not*; since to believe a *God* that *made*, *sees*, and will *judge* them; and to scoff at that *Tremendous* Majesty before whom their *Brother-WITS* below tremble; to think the *Scriptures* are the *Inspirations* of the *God of Heaven*, the *Laws of Souls*, and grand *Instruments* of *Immortal* happiness, and yet to droll upon them, and to jest with the *records of eternity*; to believe endless *Torments*, and everlasting *Joyes* in the state immediately succeeding these our short and uncertain Beings, and yet to sport with the *wrath of God*, and to make *tricks* at *eternal terrors*; to talk *trivially* of *beatifical enjoyments*, and to make as bold with *Heaven*, as they do with an *imaginary Elysium*; These, I say, are *follies*, these are degrees of *impudence* beyond all *aggravation*, or *possibilities of expression*; and did not sad experience shew them, one would scarce believe there were such *prodigious Monsters* in nature. And to these things I add.

(3.) These idle *Drollists* have an utter *antipathy* to all the *braver* and more *generous*

nerous kinds of KNOWLEDGE. For that they are perfectly indisposed for *Philosophy*, and all deep researches, I have said some things that may suffice for proof already. And I add this observation to confirm it, That among the numerous Youth I have seen bred in a *Great School*, and in the *University*, I have noted, that those of them who were most remarkable for *waggishness*, and *jesting*, seldom arrived to any great *maturities*, or *capacity* for things of *consequence*, and *weight*. And indeed *frolickness* of *Fancy*, and *solidity* of *Judgement*, require *dispositions* of *braine* that are very *different*, and *such* as seldom meet in great degrees, but in some very few, extraordinary tempers. But generally I believe the *Droll* is very unfit for matters of *sublimity* and *substance*: and therefore (as I intimated) *indeavours* by his *scoffs* and *Injuries*, to make them appear as much *below* his *serious notice*, as they are *indeed above* his *reach*: and in this design he hath many great advantages for his abuses, For the *pedantry* of *Disputers* that make a loud claim to *knowledge*, the *vanity* of the *extravagant* sort of *Chymists*, the *fond Boasts* of some *bold* pretenders to *Philosophy*, and *experiment*; the *strangeness*

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ness of things that soberer Inquisitors declare practicable, but have not yet succeeded; the meanness and seeming contemptibleness of many Subjects, the experimenter is often obliged to deal in: These afford plausible arguments for Drolling Harangues, and those advantages are taken to make the most useful Theories, and Endeavours appear ridiculous and vain. And for the encouragement of the phantastick, in his insolent humour of injustice, and abuse, there is a certain envy in mankind against those that attempts any thing extraordinary, which makes men willing to embrace and applaud that which exposeth what themselves cannot act, nor comprehend; by reason of which ill nature in the generality, yea, even of those that pretend to something; This kinde of wit becomes the most pestilent enemy to knowledge, and it's improvements, especially to philosophick wisdom. For Philosophy can shame, and disable all the reasons that can be urged against it; but jests, and loud laughter are not to be confuted: and yet these are of more force to degrade a thing in the esteem of some sort of Spirits, than the most potent demonstrations: and the mischief of it is; that these Quibblers and Buffoons that
have

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have some *little* scraps of *Learning* matcht with a *great* proportion of *Confidence*, have commonly the luck to be celebrated among the vulgar for men of great *parts* and *knowledge*; and that opinion of them gains credit to their *insolencies*, and *abuses*.

But, Sir, I perceive my zeal against those pedlars of Wit, hath transported me to your trouble, I therefore make an abrupt return to my other reason mentioned, of mens disbelief of the Being of *Witches*, and *Apparitions*, and that is :

SECT. IV.

(II.) **A**THEISM; the Folly of which *accursed* madness, You, Sir, have so fully discovered to the world, in your incomparable Works, and so thoroughly understand the *mysteries* of that *black* conspiracy against heaven, that 'twould be fond for me to think to suggest any notion on the Subject, which you could not teach. But, Sir, I have a *Relation* about this matter to make you, which I believe you will not be unwilling to hear. And you shall have it when I have taken notice, That there is

Droptery and Atheism. 177

is a *latent Atheism* at the root of the **SADDUCEAN** Principle: for too many deny *Witches*, because they believe there are no *Spirits*; and they are so persuaded because they own no Being in the world, but *matter*, and the *results* of *motion*, and consequently, can acknowledge *nothing* of a *God*.

It *hath* indeed been a *Question*, whether 'tis possible there should be such a *prodigy* as a *speculative Atheist* in nature; and I could wish it were so still: But alas, our Age and Experience hath ended the *Dispute*; and we need not search the *dark*, and *barbarous corners* of *America*, nor seek the *Monster* among the *wilde Men* of the *Desart*; we have found him in *Times* of *Light*, in a *witty*, and *civiliz'd* Region, and in an *Age* of the greatest *knowledge* and *improvements*: he *sculks* not among the thickest of the *woods*, nor seeks *Caverns* for *concealment*; but *braves* the *Sun*, and appears in the *clearest* day. And the *Fool* is not so *modest* as he was in the dayes of the *Royal Prophet*, to say only in his *heart*, *There is no God*: we know a bolder sort of *Infidels*, and I can say, Sir, from a *particular* experience, That there are, who deny the *existence* of a *Deity*. I met with one such
some

some years since in *London*, who confidently, and without mincing, denied that there was any such Being, and bid me prove it. I wondered at the *boldness*, (as well as the *impiety*) of his saying; and because I had a great *compassion* for one in so deplorable a state, I resolved not to exasperate him by *passion*, *hard words*, or *damning Sentences*, but *calmly*, and without seeming *emotion*, discoursed the business with him: I granted him all I *safely* or *reasonably* could, and all that might serve my design for his *conviction*, before we began the close ingagement; that so he might have less prejudice against what was said by one whom he might see not to be of a *narrow, confined* judgment; and that I might not have the disadvantage of being put upon the impugning of *Principles* which are *plausible* by the great names, or reasons of any eminent Philosophers, and that were not absolutely necessary for the *defence* of the *Proposition*, for which I undertook; such were the *Platonick Anima Mundi*, the *eternity*, and *immensity* of the world; which, Sir, though I should not *affirm*, yet I would not at that time *deny*, but quietly granted them as *Hypotheses*: being willing to permit
his

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his belief of *these*, in order to the convincing and disabusing him in his *main*, and *deadly conclusion*. And by *these concessions* I gain'd the *advantages* I expected; for hereby he was disappointed of all those *plausibilities*, which I perceived he was wont to urge for those Doctrines. And I saw, that when he was prest with the necessity of a *cause* of all things, and a *First*, his refuge was that old *Epicurean* one, of an *eternal*, *infinite matter*; which when his *unwary opposites* would attempt to disprove by endeavouring to demonstrate the *beginning*, and *Finiteness* of the world, They gave him the opportunity of a colourable *Defence*, and diverted from the main *Thesis*, which might be evinced though the *Immensity* and *Eternity* of the *Universe* were granted. And so they let him go from an *assertion* that is most *impious*, and *absurd*, to another which is tolerably *accountable*, and *specious*. And the *Conclusion* would be at last, that since the undertaker could not prove the world was not *infinite* and *eternal*, he could not make it appear, *There was a God*. By which procedure the arguer falls from a *Proposition* which is the most *demonstrative* one in nature, to an *other*, which cannot be cleared

cleared but by *supposing* the main thing in Question.

But besides *this shift* which my concession made insignificant, when my *Atheist* was urged with the *Order, Harmony, Contrivance, and Wisdom* that is visible in the *Creatures*, he would betake him to his *Anima Mundi*; the *existence* of which, when those other Antagonists he had dealt with would endeavour to overthrow, they undertook a thing of *harder probation*, than the main conclusion.

I say therefore, Sir, I permitted him to assume *these Principles*, and then proved, That though the world *were immense*, and *eternal*, yet, That 'tis not possible meer *blinde, unguided matter* should shuffle it self into such *regular, and accurate productions*, as we see are the results of every day, without the *manuduction* of some *knowing Agent, and Contriver*, as you have fully made good in your excellent ANTIDOTE. And when he at this turn took *sanctuary* in an *Anima Mundi*, as the cause of all the *art, and exactness* in Nature, I granted him the *Being*; but askt him, Whether he took it for a substance, that was *intelligent*, or devoid of reason, and perception? when he seemed to incline to this *latter*, I shewed him,

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him, that such a principle as had no sense, or knowledge, signified no more to his purpose, than if he had stuck in the *Hypothesis* of *meer matter*, and *motion*. But when he allow'd his great *Soul* to be an *intellectual Being* (as he at last did) and that it was *immense* and *eternal* (as he was forced to do by his assertion, that this *soul* was diffused through the whole mass of his *infinite* and *eternal* matter,) I shewed him, that in effect he was brought by his own Principles to the acknowledgment of a GOD, though he gave him another name.

Thus Sir, I pursued my *Infidel* into all his *starting holes*, and *retreats*, and drive him from one *assertion* to another, its *contradictory*, and then back again upon the *first Thesis*, and so up and down till at length he began to be ashamed of his *shuffling*, and confess that I had said to him more than he had heard, and some things that he would *consider*. He desired that I would give him the substance of my discourse in writing, which I prepared for him, and shall perhaps ere long give an account of these, and other dependent matters to the publick.

After the heat of our ingagement was over, I was willing to learn by what means

O

he

he came into that desperate *Infidelity*, and understood from him, that he had run through the several stages of *modern Sects*, not stopping till he came down to that sink of *Folly*, and *madness*, *Quakerism*, and thence made a step into *Atheism*; which is no great leap; for *East* and *West* at long run meet, and are the same. And certainly he that places his *Religion* in *opinions*, and judgeth it now to lie in *this form of belief*, and then in another; when he comes to consider the vast variety of *Sects*, the confidence of each in his own reasonings, the pretences of all to *Scripture*, *Reason*, and *Antiquity*; the antipathy they have one against another, and the doubtfulness, if not *falsehood*, of things, that each of them hold sacred, and certain: I say, he that takes *Religion* to be an adherence to *Sects* and *Opinions*, upon the accounts mention'd, when he reflects, is in mighty danger of being an *Atheist*. And except he fix at last upon the few, plain, acknowledg'd essentials of *belief*, and *good life* (if he be of an *anxious*, *inquisitive mind*, and not obstinately resolv'd in the way of his particular *Sect*.) 'Tis a miracle if he ends not there at last: For he having establish'd this, That *Religion* consists in the *way*, or *form* of some party, or other; and then having successively

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sively deserted those Sects that had most of his favour and affection; and so past from one to another, through all the steps of descent, when at length he is fallen out with the *last*, he hath nothing else to fly to but *contempt* of all *Religion*, as a meer *juggle* and *Imposture*. This I took to be this Gentleman's case; and I believe much of the *general Atheism* of our dayes is to be ascribed to this Cause.

Thus, Sir, I have followed the humour of writing, as it lead me, and expect your pardon of this ramble, upon the account of that liberty which uses to be allowed in intercourses of this nature; and more from that Friendship with which you are pleased to honour,

SIR,

Your Affectionate

Humble Servant,

J. G.

F I N I S.

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to form had said that had most of
his favour and attention; and to get them
to another, through all the steps of
learning, when at length he is fallen out with
himself, he has nothing left but to put
himself off till he is a more perfect
man. However, this I took to be his
own mind's sake; and I believe much of
the reason why he of our days is to be
ascribed to this.

I think, Sir, I have followed the humours
of my mind, and expected your
patience in the matter, upon the account
of this liberty which was to be allowed in
the number of the name; and in one from
that I thought was to be allowed.

To be sure.

Very truly yours,

James Oglethorpe

J. O.

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